# *Scottish Emigration to Colonial America, 1607–1785*

DAVID DOBSON

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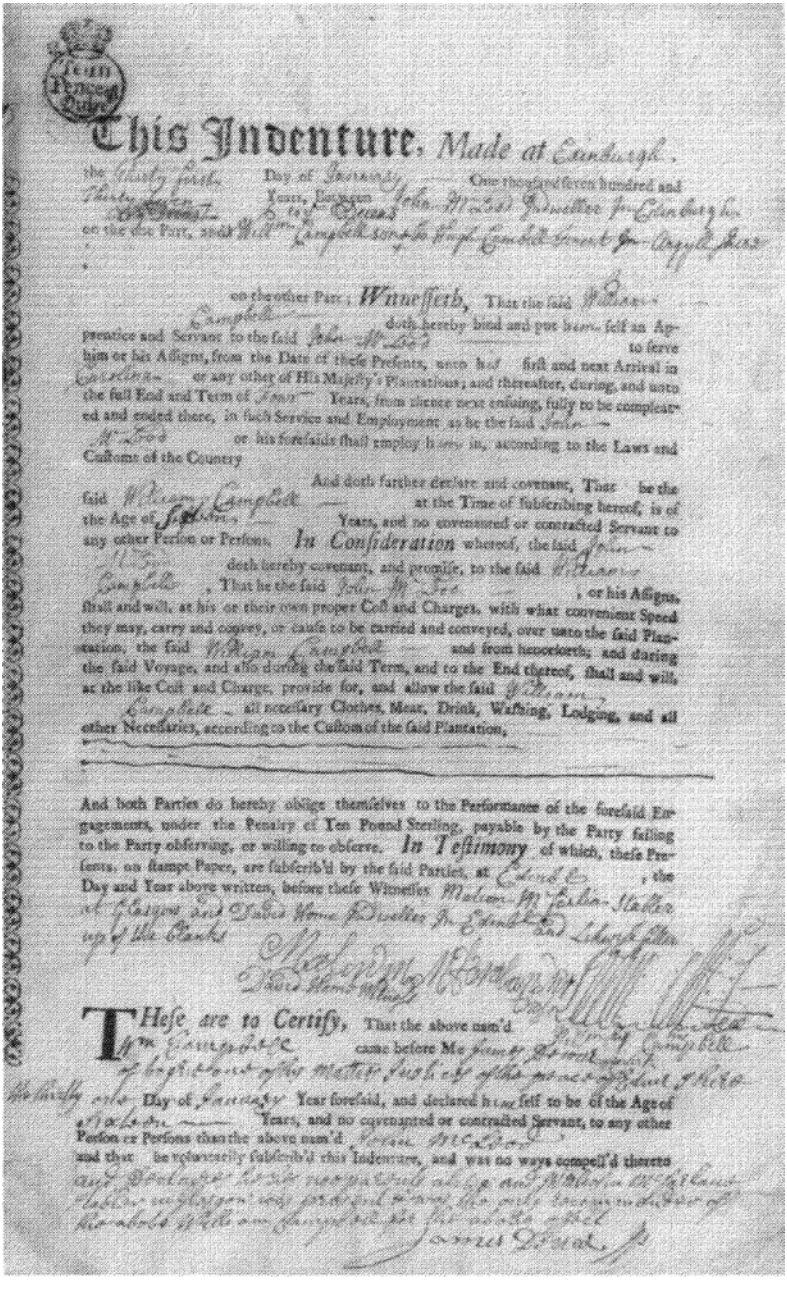

# 𝕿𝖍𝖎𝖘 𝕴𝖓𝖉𝖊𝖓𝖙𝖚𝖗𝖊, *Made at* Edinburgh,

the thirty first Day of January One thouſand ſeven hundred and thirty [illegible] Years, Between John McLeod Jeweller in Edinburgh [illegible] on the one Part, and William Campbell son to Hugh Campbell tenant in Argyllshire on the other Part: *Witneſſeth*, That the ſaid William Campbell doth hereby bind and put him-ſelf an Apprentice and Servant to the ſaid John McLeod to ſerve him or his Aſſigns, from the Date of theſe Preſents, unto his firſt and next Arrival in Carolina or any other of His Majeſty's Plantations; and thereafter, during, and unto the full End and Term of Four Years, from thence next enſuing, fully to be compleated and ended there, in ſuch Service and Employment as he the ſaid John McLeod or his foreſaids ſhall employ him in, according to the Laws and Cuſtoms of the Country And doth farther declare and covenant, That he the ſaid William Campbell at the Time of ſubſcribing hereof, is of the Age of Sixteen Years, and no covenanted or contracted Servant to any other Perſon or Perſons. *In Conſideration* whereof, the ſaid John McLeod doth hereby covenant, and promiſe, to the ſaid William Campbell, That he the ſaid John McLeod, or his Aſſigns, ſhall and will, at his or their own proper Coſt and Charges, with what convenient Speed they may, carry and convey, or cauſe to be carried and conveyed, over unto the ſaid Plantation, the ſaid William Campbell and from henceforth; and during the ſaid Voyage, and alſo during the ſaid Term, and to the End thereof, ſhall and will, at the like Coſt and Charge, provide for, and allow the ſaid William Campbell all neceſſary Clothes, Meat, Drink, Waſhing, Lodging, and all other Neceſſaries, according to the Cuſtom of the ſaid Plantation,

And both Parties do hereby oblige themſelves to the Performance of the foreſaid Engagements, under the Penalty of Ten Pound Sterling, payable by the Party failing to the Party obſerving, or willing to obſerve. *In Teſtimony* of which, theſe Preſents, on ſtampt Paper, are ſubſcrib'd by the ſaid Parties, at Edinburgh, the Day and Year above written, before theſe Witneſſes Malcom McFarlan Stabler at Glasgow and David Home Jeweller in Edinburgh and [illegible] filler up of the blanks

Malcom McFarlan
David Home witness
William Campbell

*These are to Certify,* That the above nam'd Wm Campbell came before Me James [illegible] [illegible] the thirty one Day of January Year foreſaid, and declared himſelf to be of the Age of Sixteen Years, and no covenanted or contracted Servant, to any other Perſon or Perſons than the above nam'd John McLeod and that he voluntarily ſubſcrib'd this Indenture, and was no ways compell'd thereto [illegible]

James [illegible]

# *Scottish Emigration to Colonial America,*

# 1607–1785

David Dobson

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# INTRODUCTION

The subject of European emigration to and settlement in America has been of major interest not only to historians but to the public at large for well over a century, as evidenced by the many books and articles on the topic that have been published on both sides of the Atlantic. (One such is John Camden Hotten's *Original Lists of Persons of Quality; Emigrants, Religious Exiles, Political Rebels, Serving Men Sold for a Term of Years, Apprentices and Others Who Went from Great Britain to the American Colonies, 1600–1700* first published in 1874.) The quality of the material published so far varies tremendously, from vague reminiscences and opinions to highly documented efforts, from superficial to in-depth studies. Although there have been a number of books published on the various European ethnic groups who settled throughout North America—for example, A. Johnson's *Swedish Settlements on the Delaware, 1638–1664* (1911), Walter Allen Knittle's *Palatine Emigration of the early eighteenth century* (1937), and J. O. Evjen's *Scandinavian Immigrants in New York 1630–1674* (1916)—the emphasis has naturally been on English colonization.

As far as Scotland is concerned, the majority of articles or books so far published, such as Gordon Donaldson's *Scots Overseas* and Charles Haws's *Scots in the Old Dominion,* have treated the subject superficially. There have been, however, a few in-depth studies dealing with a particular aspect of the Scottish participation in the settlement or economic development of North America, including the West Indies; examples are George Pryde Insh's *Scottish Colonial Schemes,* which, though somewhat dated, contains much valuable documentary material, and T. M. Devine's *Tobacco Lords,* a masterly analysis of the tobacco trade between Glasgow and the Chesapeake during the colonial period.

The Scotch-Irish, those natives of Northern Ireland of Scots origin who emigrated to America, have received far more attention from American historians than their less numerous Scottish cousins, and at times Scottish immigrants have been included among the Scotch-Irish. Books such as Charles A. Hanna's *Scotch Irish* (1902), Charles Knowles Bolton's *Scotch-Irish Pioneers* (1910), and J. G. Leyburn's *Scotch-Irish* (1962) contain substantial information relating to Scottish history as well as references to Scottish immigrants in America. On the other hand, there are a number of more recent publications pertaining to the Scotch-Irish that deal primarily with their contribution to the settlement of America: W. F. Dunnaway's *Scotch-Irish of Colonial Pennsylvania* (1962); R. J. Dickson's *Ulster Emigration to Colonial America, 1718–1775*, a noteworthy contribution to ethnic emigrant studies in America; Tyler Blethen and Curtis Wood's *From Ulster to Carolina* (1983), a useful and concise work; and E. R. R. Green's *Essays in Scotch-Irish History* (1969). W. C. Lehmann's *Scottish and Scotch-Irish Contributions to Early American Life and Culture* (1978), which clearly differentiates between the two groups, is probably the best book so far to evaluate the impact of the Scots and the Scotch-Irish on America; it also contains a substantial bibliography.

Some of the best works dealing with Scottish emigration to North America that have been published in recent years have concentrated on particular regions or periods of settlement. Professor J. M. Bumstead has written several articles dealing with the settlement of Prince Edward Island; but his most important contribution in the field of Scottish emigration is his *People's Clearance, 1770–1815*, which is probably the definitive account of the emigration of Highlanders to Canada during the period. As far as the United States is concerned, two noteworthy books deal with Scottish settlement in particular colonies during the prerevolutionary period: Ned Landsman's *Scotland and Its First American Colony, 1683–1765*, which deals with New Jersey, and Duane Meyer's *Highland Scots of North Carolina, 1732–1776*. Despite the major part played by the Scots in the settlement and economic development of Virginia and Maryland in the colonial era, a first-rate study of the Scots on the Chesapeake has yet to be published.

There are, however, a number of excellent articles that do provide some insight into the Scots commercial activities there, especially Jacob M. Price's "Rise of Glasgow in the Chesapeake Tobacco Trade, 1707–1775"; T. M. Devine's *Tobacco Lords* concentrates on the economic angle especially from the point of view of Glasgow. Currently much excellent material relating to Scottish immigrants can be found in Bernard Bailyn's ongoing work *The Peopling of British North America,* the first volume of which, *Voyagers to the West* (1986), deals with the sixteen-year period immediately prior to the American Revolution. Bailyn provides the highly relevant specific detail that is generally missing from I. C. C. Graham's *Colonists from Scotland,* which had hitherto been the best comprehensive work on Scots settlement in America. The rise of interest in genealogy and local history in the United States, especially over the last two decades, has led to the publication of substantial quantities of important documentary evidence, such as testaments, deeds, court records, church records, and immigration records, and to the republication of many important works dealing with Scottish immigration, such as John P. MacLean's *Historical Account of the Settlement of Scotch Highlanders in America Prior to the Peace of 1783*. As far as the Caribbean is concerned there is virtually nothing published regarding the Scots presence apart from a few articles like A. Karras's "World of Alexander Johnston: The Creolisation of Ambition, 1762–1787." The Darien Scheme has, however, attracted much attention from authors such as John Prebble, whose *Darien Disaster* is the most recent work on the subject. It is quite evident that there is no comprehensive study of Scottish immigration to North America, including the West Indies, apart from a few superficial works of the Victorian era. The absence of such a book, coupled with the piecemeal attention that the subject has generally gained, has contributed to the lack of appreciation of the contribution made by Scotland in the settlement and development of the continent prior to the American Revolution.

The Scottish element of the colonial population is probably far greater than is generally realized. Recently Forrest and Ellen McDonald in their "Ethnic Origins of the American People, 1790" have attempted to reassess the position using data provided by the U.S. census of 1790. The basis of the assessment was the use of surnames, which were analyzed into different ethnic groupings; the finding was that the proportion of the U.S. population of Scots origin varied from 32.9 percent in South Carolina to 8.7 percent in Connecticut. Although the position may have been exaggerated through some surnames being classed as Scottish that were in fact common throughout the British Isles, the McDonalds' work does suggest that there were far more people in eighteenth-century America of Scots origin than has been earlier supposed. Many of these people may, however, have been the descendants of Scotch-Irish immigrants rather than of people who came directly from Scotland. According to H. E. Egerton, author of *British Colonial Policy,* a similar situation may have existed in 1762 in Jamaica, where about one-third of the white inhabitants were thought to be Scots or of Scottish origin. The absence of immigration statistics for America prior to 1820 has clearly been a major obstacle for those wishing to estimate the ethnic origins of immigrants to early America. The only list that does exist, the Register of Emigrants from Great Britain, 1773–1775, covers only an eighteen-month period and is known to be incomplete. Initially there was only a trickle of Scots into the American colonies, perhaps a few hundred before 1650; but by the early 1770s the number had risen, according to some estimates, to 10,000 per annum. A conservative estimate of the total number of Scots who settled in North America prior to 1785 would be around 150,000.

Who then were these Scots? What did they do? Where did they settle? What factors motivated their emigration? When did they emigrate? This work attempts to provide comprehensive yet concise answers to such questions. Sometimes the findings of earlier researchers have been confirmed, while on occasion attention is drawn to hitherto overlooked aspects of Scottish immigration such as the seventeenth century or the West Indies.

Emigration from Scotland has been a constant feature of Scottish demography for many centuries. During the seventeenth century there were relatively few Scots in North America, at least initially. The Scots were still flocking to traditional destinations in northern Europe with which they had strong economic links, such as Poland

and the Netherlands; increasingly they were going to England and especially to Ulster. The average Scot had little incentive to cross the Atlantic when there were as good, if not better, opportunities in Europe, especially in Ireland. The English, on the other hand, switched the emphasis of their colonizing ventures to Virginia, New England, and the West Indies and increasingly left settlement in Ireland to the Scots. The descendants of these Scottish settlers in Ireland later crossed the Atlantic in substantial numbers to become one of the foremost immigrant groups in eighteenth-century America, the Scotch-Irish. Had the Scots wished to establish a colony in America during the early seventeenth century it is evident that they had the skilled and experienced seamen to take them there: Scottish ships had sailed to Nova Scotia in the 1620s, and Scots seamen had crossed the Atlantic in the service of the English and the Dutch. However, they had yet to serve their apprenticeship as colonists in Ireland, as the English had done a generation or so earlier, to prepare them for the task. Thus the early Scots in America mostly settled within the English colonies, apart from a few within the Dutch and the Swedish colonies along the Hudson and Delaware rivers. The majority of Scots who arrived in America during the seventeenth century did so involuntarily, initially as Cromwellian prisoners and later as Covenanters or as criminals banished to the American plantations. Religious persecution in Scotland was also a factor motivating emigration to America; the attempt to establish a Scots Presbyterian settlement in South Carolina and the flight of many of the Scottish Quakers to East New Jersey, both during the 1680s, are the best manifestations of this motivating factor. There were also economic factors at work that led to trade between Scotland and North America and subsequent settlement. The Scots were anxious to participate in the growing market for American colonial produce that existed in Europe. This desire was frustrated by the English Navigation Acts, which imposed restrictions on free trade. In turn this led to the rise of illegal trade and the settlement of resident agents and planters from Scotland in the various colonies. At one point the Scots Parliament seriously considered colonizing islands in the Caribbean, but this project was shelved only to reappear in the

1690s as the Darien Scheme. The failure of the Darien Scheme contributed to the Union of Parliaments in 1707 which, among other provisions, enabled the Scots to settle and work without restriction in the English colonies in America.

The first sizable group of Scots to settle in America during the eighteenth century was composed of Jacobite prisoners who were transported there in 1715. Voluntary emigration from Scotland to America had hitherto been virtually a monopoly of Lowlanders; however, a movement from the Highlands began in the 1730s. Highland emigration varied from that of Lowlanders in that the former moved as a group while the latter acted as individuals, and once a foothold was established many others followed. This feature was evident in North Carolina, which experienced continuous settlement by Highlanders from 1739 well into the nineteenth century. The Highlanders also chose or were encouraged to settle on the frontiers in Carolina, Georgia, and New York in the years before the American Revolution, partly for strategic reasons but also to preserve traditions, language, and culture. Lowland Scots merchants, professional workers, and craftsmen could be found throughout the cities and ports of America from Boston to Charleston—especially in Virginia, where they dominated the tobacco trade from 1750 to 1776.

The practice of transporting criminals to America that had begun under the Restoration government continued throughout the eighteenth century although the Scottish transportees were only a fraction of those shipped from England. The failure of the Jacobites in 1746 led to nearly a thousand men, women, and children being banished from Scotland to the American plantations, where they were sold off as indentured servants. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries many people immigrated to America as indentured servants, a system whereby an individual would contract to work for several years in America in exchange for transportation there. Records of such immigrants, though far from complete, exist in England, America, and to a minimal extent in Scotland.

The use of Highland regiments in America during the French and Indian War (1756–63) resulted in substantial emigration. Many former soldiers chose to stay in America after 1763 rather than return to Scotland, settling especially in frontier areas such as the Mohawk valley of upper New York. This in turn led to friends and relatives from Scotland joining them.

The sheer volume of this outflow of population from Scotland, especially from the Highlands where particular regions faced depopulation, gave rise to concern in government circles. In 1773 the government ordered customs authorities to maintain a Register of Emigrants, including places of origin and destination and reasons for leaving. This register, kept until 1775, represents virtually the only source of data, albeit incomplete, on emigrants to America until the United States began to record immigrants in 1820.

British North America, except possibly the cities of Quebec, Montreal, and Halifax, was not in a position to attract certain classes of immigrants after 1783 since its economy depended heavily on the primary sector of the economy. Similarly the demand for more advanced labor skills could be satisfied by the professional and skilled tradesmen among the American Loyalists or discharged military personnel. Thus, apart from weavers and farmers, there was little emigration from Lowland Scotland. On the other hand there was substantial emigration from the Highlands, especially from the Catholic communities, owing to harvest failures and hard winters in 1782 and 1783 with subsequent famine.

After the American Revolution the British government discouraged emigration to the United States, and at one point prohibited the emigration of craftsmen and manufacturers from Great Britain. The Scottish mercantile community (particularly in Glasgow, which had been highly dependent on Virginia as a source of raw materials, specifically tobacco) found it necessary to diversify after 1776 and to some extent switched the emphasis of supply to the West Indies and its sugar and cotton. This in turn led to the settlement of many Scots there, particularly planters, merchants, and professional workers. Although there had been Scots in the Caribbean since the 1620s, they became numerous only around the mid eighteenth century. In Rupert's Land, on the northern periphery of North America, the Hudsons Bay Company became increasingly dependent on Orcadians to man its stores.

Throughout colonial America, Scots rose to prominence in government and professions such as medicine, education, and the church. This work, based on original research on both sides of the Atlantic, is designed to identify comprehensively the Scottish contribution to the settlement of North America prior to 1785, with particular emphasis on the seventeenth century.

# CHAPTER ONE

## *The Emigrant Tradition*

## *(1607–60)*

Scotland is unique in Western Europe in experiencing a net population growth rate roughly at replacement level. This results not from a low birth rate or a high death rate but from a relatively high level of emigration—south to England or overseas, especially to North America and Australasia. The causes of this phenomenon are complex and have their historic roots in early modern Scotland. Although Scottish emigration is a well-established demographic feature, it is only in the last two hundred years or so that the level of emigration has been significant. The continent of Europe has for centuries attracted Scots scholars, merchants, soldiers, and political and religious refugees, as well as a number of wanderers, many of whom chose to settle permanently. By 1650 Scots were settled from the Gulf of Bothnia to the Bay of Biscay. Prior to the Union of the Crowns in 1603 there had been a reluctance on the part of the Scots to consider England as a place to settle despite its close proximity. It is impossible to estimate the number of Scots who settled in England before 1603; it is, however, possible to establish how many Scots became naturalized Englishmen. Between 1509 and 1603 only 272 Scots received Letters of Denization or Acts of Naturalisation in England despite the very great advantages that would accrue, such as the right to own land, inherit land, confer rights on children, and be exempt from taxes imposed on aliens. An indication of how relatively few this was is indicated by the fact that in the single year 1544, 993 Normans and 169 Bretons became naturalized Englishmen.[1]

The settlement of individuals or small groups in European countries must be clearly distinguished from the limited formal attempts at colonization engaged in by the Scots prior to 1650. Within Scotland itself there had been conscious efforts to establish colonies of Lowlanders within the Celtic and Nordic periphery as a means of consolidating the Kingdom of Scotland. During the fifteenth century, before Orkney and Shetland were transferred to the king of Scotland by the king of Norway and Denmark, the earl of Orkney, a Scot, although bound by duty to the king of Norway, actively encouraged Scottish immigration by appointing Scots to positions of influence on these islands. In the closing years of the sixteenth century, James VI devised a scheme aimed at settling Lowland Scots communities at key points within the Highlands and islands: "The Kingis Majestie haveing to be advise of the Thrie Estaitis convenit in the lait Parliament haldin in Edinburgh upon the [16th] day of [December] last bipast, fownd it meit and expedient, baith for the reductioun of the illis to his Hienes obedience, establisching of justice and quietnes, and furthsetting of his Hienes commoditie and proffeit within the samyn, that certane tounis sould be erectit and sett doun in Kintyre, Lochabir and the Lewis, upoun commodious pairtis maist proper for the saidis effectis. At Holyroodhouse, 4 May 1598."[2]

Three sites were selected in the Highlands and islands on economic and strategic grounds. These were locations from which the king's men could ensure that royal policy was being followed and the law of the land enforced. By forming colonies of English-speaking Lowland Protestants in selected spots they were dividing the Gaelic-speaking Highlanders from each other and from their cousins in Ireland. The newly planted burghs could act as engines of growth in their areas, generating economic and social development. This project was not to achieve its aims to any great extent. An example of what occurred was the case of the Lewis Plantation. In the early sixteenth century, James V had attempted to encourage the growth and development of fishing in the Western Isles but had been frustrated by the actions of the residents of Lewis, who molested the fishermen and drove them away.[3] In 1576 Rory MacLeod of Lewis gave an undertaking to the Privy Council in Edinburgh that his people would refrain from molesting the Lowland fishermen. The inhabitants of Lewis were regarded in Edinburgh as "professit and avowed enemies to all His Majesties guid subjects, and to all strangers quha aither in their lawful trade of fishing or be contarious winds are set upon their coist swa that by reason of their barbaritie, the trade of fishing these pairts is neglected and oursein."[4] James VI's decision to select Lewis as a site for the formation of a burgh peopled by Lowlanders was influenced by economy and finance. The islanders' constant interference with fishing had broken the law, curtailed economic development, and, above all, deprived the king of much needed revenue. In 1598 the Privy Council ratified a contract between the king and a group known as the Fife Adventurers "to plant policy and civilisation in the hitherto most barberous Isle of Lewis, with Ronal Lewis and Trotternish, and to develop the extraordinary rich resourcs of the same for the public good and the King's profit."[5] Early in November 1598 an expedition of five hundred men sailed from Leith to Lewis to establish a colony there. The financial backers of the project looked upon the enterprise as a license to make money, and the islanders recognized the threat to their way of life that a successful accomplishment of the mission would bring. The islanders resisted the attempts of the Fife Adventurers to establish a permanent base near the site of Stornaway, and in December 1601, led by Torquil and Neil MacLeod, overran the settlers' fort and forced the survivors to leave the island. After the failure of the Fife Adventurers, the Commission of Justiciary granted Kenneth McKenzie, Lord Kintail, a neighbor and rival of the MacLeods, the job of subjugating the Isle of Lewis. Thus the attempt to settle Lowlanders in the Outer Hebrides was abandoned and the area left to its traditional inhabitants.

Another area of proposed internal colonization in 1598 was Kintyre. The project commenced in 1607 when the earl of Argyll received the lands of Kintyre in feu farm from the king. The original inhabitants of Kintyre, the Macdonalds, were dispossessed and moved to Ulster and nearby parts of the Western Highlands. In 1609 the feu duties were abolished provided that the earl of Argyll "plant a burgh, to be inhabited by Lowland men and trafficking burgesses, within the bounds of Kintyre." The Plantation of Kintyre had close parallels with that of Ireland in that the original Gaelic-speaking inhabitants were forcibly removed from their traditional homelands and replaced by incoming English-speaking Protestants. In the case of Argyll, the settlers came mainly from Ayrshire, Renfrewshire, and adjacent counties, an area that provided many of the Scottish settlers in Ulster a few years later. This project of establishing a Lowland colony in Kintyre, including a burgh named Lochead (later renamed Campbelltown), achieved its long-term objectives, unlike the Lewis venture or that of Lochaber, which did not succeed until the building of Fort William a century later.

During the early seventeenth century, Scots emigrated to the countries of northwest Europe, particularly to Scandinavia, the Baltic states, France, and the Netherlands. Of these destinations, the Netherlands and Poland were especially important.

During the sixteenth century the Netherlands had become the single most important market center in northwest Europe; and as seaborne trade with America, Asia, and Africa rapidly expanded, it gradually replaced Venice as the chief marketplace of Europe. The Scots had long traded with the Low Countries, but after the Dutch Revolt Scottish merchants and their factors began increasingly to reside and settle in the Netherlands, particularly at the staple port of Veere in Zeeland. An example is the Cunningham family, which emigrated from Dumfries to Veere in the late sixteenth century. At the staple port, Scottish exports, especially coal, woolens, and fish, would be traded for a wide range of Dutch wares and colonial produce. Scholars went from Scotland to the universities of Utrecht and Leyden to study medicine and law; however, probably the vast majority of Scots in the Netherlands at that period were mercenary soldiers who had gone originally to fight in the struggle against Spanish domination and after 1618 to fight in the Thirty Years' War.[6] The majority of these men were formed into the Scots Brigade, many later settling in the Netherlands. Calvinism, which attracted religious refugees to the Netherlands during periods of religious intolerance in seventeenth-century Scotland, was another bond between the Scots and the Dutch. Later the links with the

Netherlands were weakened as the Scottish economic, social, and political links with England strengthened.

The second half of the sixteenth century was a period of religious and political turmoil in Scotland, aggravated by periods of harvest failure and subsequent famine in the 1570s and 1590s. For many, emigration seemed to be the only choice; and, although France, Germany, and the Netherlands were traditional destinations, many now chose to go to Poland.

From 1550 to 1650 Poland was a land of opportunity and refuge. Emigration from Scotland to Poland reached a peak in the 1620s, when a number of observers estimated there were approximately thirty thousand Scots there. These emigrants came from all classes of Scottish society: the younger sons of small landowners, merchants' sons, craftsmen, soldiers of fortune, religious and political refugees, all mainly from the Lowlands. The social structure of Poland at the time provided economic opportunities; society was divided between the aristocracy and the peasantry, with all commerce left to foreigners—Jews, Germans, Dutch, and Scots. Some Scots had gone there as their ancestors had done in the days of the Teutonic knights to fight in Poland for and against the armies of Poland, Russia, and Sweden. The vast majority, however, were traders operating in both the foreign and domestic markets. They started as peddlers going from town to town, later settling and opening booths in towns. Many settled originally in the seaports of Danzig and Königsberg, gradually spreading southward throughout the country as far as Cracow, Lwów, and Krosno. Emigration to Poland fell to a trickle after 1650 due to domestic troubles emanating from the Cossack and Swedish wars. From that time onward the Scots increasingly turned their attention to the plantations of Ireland and America.

Although some degree of population movement between Ireland and Scotland had been occurring for centuries, large-scale settlement in Ireland, particularly in Ulster, was a phenomenon of the seventeenth century. By the sixteenth century there were numerous Highland mercenaries or gallowglasses in the service of the Irish in their struggle against Tudor military expansionism. The most noteworthy group among these mercenaries was the McDonnells from Kintyre, who went to fight and remained as settlers. The McDonnell migration was a combination of blood links and their failure in a power struggle with the government in Edinburgh and its Campbell allies, which caused them to be dispossessed of their traditional homelands in Kintyre. Elizabeth I of England was particularly concerned about the settlement of Gaelic-speaking Catholics among the native Irish, considering them a Trojan horse in her war against France. Although a peace treaty with France reduced the threat, the problem remained. Scotland clearly had a population in excess of that which could be absorbed or supported by the economy of the time. One solution was emigration, which for many Scots meant fighting in foreign wars. Settlement in Ulster was an option beset by problems. The English were naturally suspicious of Scottish intentions in Ulster and imposed restrictions on settlement where possible. Under a statute of Philip and Mary, Scottish entry to Ireland was deemed to be illegal unless the individual was a seaman or a tradesman. Many of the suspicions of the English at home and in Ireland were eliminated on the accession of James VI to the throne of England in 1603. Thereafter, the English found the Scots settlements in Ireland acceptable partly as a bulwark against the hostile Irish and partly as co-religionists in a land that, because of a population decimated by warfare, required repopulating. Settlement in Ulster by Lowland Scots began on a significant scale in the early 1600s and concentrated on the two northeastern counties of Antrim and Down. Much of the initial influx came from Ayrshire under the leadership of two influential landowners, James Hamilton and Hugh Montgomery.

The Plantation of Ulster owed much in its organization to the experience gained by the English in their earlier plantations in Ireland and Virginia. The Flight of the Earls from Ulster to the continent in 1607 marked the collapse of Ulster as a Celtic and Gaelic province; henceforth it would increasingly be peopled by English-speaking Protestants. The lands abandoned became forfeit to the Crown, and in 1610 the king began to allocate these lands to three classes of grantees—English and Scottish undertakers, servitors (Crown servants), and native Irish freeholders. The escheated lands of each county were divided into precincts, some granted to the English and others to the Scottish undertakers. These undertakers contracted to build suitable habitations and settle twenty-four Scots or English immigrants per thousand acres within three years. Generally the estates received by the Scots were smaller than those of the English, which probably reflected the lower incomes of the Scots. The vast majority of the Scottish undertakers were middle-rank Lowland lairds from Lothian in the east to Ayrshire in the west. The English were increasingly keen to welcome the Scots to this Irish colonizing project, as the Englishmen who formerly would have come were increasingly turning their attention to Virginia and the other American colonies. The Scots were thus filling a vacuum that existed and would not have been filled from England. Although the names of the Scottish undertakers in the Plantation of Ulster are well known, very little information exists to identify the Scots settlers or their places of origin. Highlanders were, as a matter of policy, excluded from settling in Ulster because it was felt that they would identify with the native Irish rather than the Lowland Scots. It may be reasonable to assume that the Scottish undertakers recruited their settlers from among the ranks of their own tenants in Scotland, or at least from their home area. Methods used to identify areas of Scottish as opposed to English settlement in seventeenth-century Ulster would include an analysis of religious persuasion, dialect, and surnames. These areas would include North Down, South Antrim, the Route area of North Antrim and North East Londonderry, and the Laggan area of North East Donegal and North West Tyrone. The number of Scots who settled in early-seventeenth-century Ulster is difficult to estimate, although various published works, such as the Civil Survey of 1659, are available. Contemporary observers reckoned that in the late 1630s there were between forty thousand and one hundred thousand Scots settled in Ireland, although such figures are probably exaggerated. The rise in emigration that occurred, both to Ireland and Virginia, may be accounted for by the religious policies of the king. The descendants of the Scots who settled in seventeenth-century Ulster became one of the most important ethnic groups to settle in eighteenth-century America—the Scotch-Irish.

The seventeenth century was a period of reorientation for Scottish emigration. Previously it had been overwhelmingly eastward toward countries bordering the North Sea and the Baltic Sea, but henceforth the emphasis would be westward, initially concentrating on Ulster, later on America.

For virtually a century after Christopher Columbus landed on San Salvador in 1492 permanent European settlement in North America, including the Caribbean, was almost exclusively the monopoly of the Spanish. The northern periphery of Spanish colonization went from St. Augustine, Florida, in the east, to San Francisco, California, in the west; the southern limit was in Peru. One reason why the Spanish did not settle permanently in what is now Carolina and Virginia may have been the fact that the Spanish were heavily committed to the search for gold, which was absent in those areas, and that the bulk of labor they used was provided by indigenous slaves, which were in plentiful supply in New Spain but in short supply on mainland North America. In the Caribbean most of the islands were under direct or indirect Spanish control, with settlement concentrated on Cuba and Hispaniola.

To begin with, Portugal was a potential rival in the race for empire, but conflict was averted by papal intervention in 1493, which, in accordance with the Treaty of Tordesillas, allocated all land fifteen hundred miles west of the Cape Verde Islands to the jurisdiction of Spain and all lands east of that line to Portugal. This, in effect, gave what is now Brazil to Portugal. The only other Portuguese in the Americas during the sixteenth century were in temporary fishing settlements on Newfoundland that, although technically within the Spanish sphere of influence, were left in Portuguese hands. After the decline of the Baltic fisheries France and England also became interested in the abundance of fish off Newfoundland. Later the abundance of furs, especially beaver, attracted traders to what are now called the Maritime Provinces of Canada. Temporary living quarters for traders and fishermen were established on the coasts of Nova Scotia and Newfoundland and attracted Portuguese, Basques, Bretons, and Englishmen. These rough dwellings contrasted dramatically with the society rapidly being created in New Spain.

The Spanish, as a part of their overall strategy for New Spain, attempted to create an economic system, which incidentally had parallels in the English Navigation Acts of the mid seventeenth century. Under this system the Spanish tried to maintain a monopoly of the supply of goods to their settlements in the Americas and, at the same time, attempted to maintain a monopoly of the distribution of Spanish-American colonial products in Europe. Such a system invited attempts by all concerned to circumvent the regulations, an experience shared by the English a century later. The Spanish did not have the necessary resources to enforce their restrictions on commerce, and the colonists were the first to note the advantages of ignoring them. Soon Dutch, English, and French merchant skippers were trading illegally with the Spanish settlers, selling European wares, especially textiles, and African slaves at competitive prices and buying colonial commodities, especially tobacco, sugar, dyes, and gold, below the European market prices imposed by the Seville-based monopolies. The financial success of such activity attracted less scrupulous adventurers from northwest Europe who concentrated on piracy and pillage of Spanish merchant ships and settlements.

The Caribbean was seen in Europe as an area where great fortunes could be made, but settlement was impossible until Spanish power waned in the early seventeenth century. The only non-Spanish settlements in the vicinity of Spanish America in the mid sixteenth century, the French Protestant colonies at Port Royal (now in South Carolina) and Fort Carolina, Florida, were soon destroyed by the Spanish. The wealth generated by the illegal traders and pirates in the West Indies encouraged the creation of mercantile companies with the aim of establishing bases in the area from which such operations could be conducted. Such bases, once established, were the foundations of future English, French, and Dutch colonies in the Caribbean.

The beginning of the last quarter of the sixteenth century brought a change in attitude of France and England to America. Until then they had been satisfied with America as a source of fish and Spanish gold, but as their maritime power grew relative to that of Spain and as they gained experience in transatlantic voyaging, their thoughts turned to construction of settlements there. The experience gained by adventurers, such as Sir Humphrey Gilbert and his half-brother Sir Walter Raleigh, in the Plantation of Ireland during the 1570s was of paramount importance to the foundation of England's first, albeit unsuccessful, colony in America on Roanoke Island, Albemarle Sound, in what is now North Carolina, between 1584 and 1590. In that same year Richard Hakluyt the younger published *A Discourse concerning Western Planting,* which argued in favor of English settlement in North America, and put forward several economic, political, and social reasons as well as the promotion of trade, a source of raw materials, the spreading of the Gospel, an outlet for surplus population and redundant soldiers, and the countering of Spanish expansionism.[7] Although these arguments were acceptable to those of influence in Elizabethan England, plans of future settlement in America had to be shelved until 1604 when the war with Spain was concluded, and despite further voyages of discovery no new attempt at colonization was made.

By 1600 England and France were ready to commence forming colonies in America. They already had substantial maritime experience of a trading and exploratory nature in the hemisphere. England was probably better prepared than France because she had a generation or more of experience in creating plantations and settlements in Ireland. She was also more stable and secure strategically and politically. It was, however, France that made the first attempt. In March 1604 the French established a base at Port Royal, Acadia, from which they explored as far south as Cape Cod. The settlement was financed and organized by a group of merchants who had been given a ten-year trade monopoly. The French merchants behind the settlement had hoped to corner the trade in beaver and other furs from the region, but their statutory monopoly was ignored by other French and Dutch traders based on the St. Lawrence. In 1607 the monopoly was canceled and the settlement abandoned. In 1608 Samuel de Champlain led a reconnaissance voyage to the St. Lawrence and established a settlement at Quebec. Between 1609 and 1616 substantial exploratory work was carried out by the French in areas known now as the Province of Quebec, Ontario, and New York State. In 1613 a new company was formed which, unlike previous companies in this field, proposed to set up regular colonies by sending families there to settle. This company, Compagnie de Canada (alias Compagnie de Rouen et de St.-Malo), was also given exclusive trading rights in the Gulf of St. Lawrence for eleven years. By the 1630s there were French settlements along the St. Lawrence River and in Acadia, but they had already come into conflict with the English and, to a lesser extent, the Scots. In accordance with the Treaty of St.-Germain-en-Laye in 1632, England gave up any claim to Acadia. As part of the preparations for this, James I of England (James VI of Scotland) had ordered Sir William Alexander to abandon his settlement at Port Royal. In December 1632 Andrew Forrester and forty other Scottish colonists embarked on a French vessel and were transported to England.[8] There has been speculation that some Scots remained and merged with the incoming French. The economy of the French settlements on the St. Lawrence and in Acadia was based on furs, fish, and timber. The total French population of Acadia has been estimated at less than 500 in 1650, and in Quebec, Trois-Rivières, and Montreal it rose to 3,035 in 1663.

In 1609 Henry Hudson, an English navigator, formerly employed by the Muscovy Company of England in the search for a northeast sea route from Europe to China and Japan, entered the service of the Dutch East India Company. In April of that year he sailed from Amsterdam on the *Half Moon* with a mixed English and Dutch crew to attempt to locate a northeast sea route to the Orient. Ice off Nova Zemblya forced him to divert his course to the west. On 25 June 1609 he reached Newfoundland, and on 2 September 1609 he arrived at the mouth of the Hudson River. The report he delivered subsequently in Amsterdam led to the formation of the New Netherlands Company on 11 October 1614. It received a three-year monopoly of Dutch activity in the Americas, and by 1615 there were Dutch trading posts at various points along the Hudson River, from Fort Orange (Albany) in the north to Manhattan Island in the south. The financial success of the company generated interest throughout the Netherlands, not only among entrepreneurs looking for profits but also from potential emigrants, including a group of English religious refugees then in Holland, later known to history as the Pilgrim Fathers.

In 1620 the newly formed Dutch West India Company was entrusted with the monopoly of Dutch operations in the Americas and began to expand the small Dutch trading posts into regular colonies both in the New Netherlands and in the West Indies. Soon there were Dutch settlements in the lower Hudson valley, western Long Island, and northeastern New Jersey. A notable feature of the Dutch New Netherlands, especially New Amsterdam, was the diverse origins of its colonists. Although mainly Dutch and Flemish, there was a substantial minority who had been born in other parts of northwestern Europe. Many came from the German states of Hanover, Oldenburg, Rhineland, Westphalia, Prussia, and Schleswig-Holstein; there were Walloons from northern France and from coastal cities such as La Rochelle. There were also a small number of Finns, Swedes, Danes, Norwegians, Swiss, and Scots. Many were probably religious refugees who had settled in Holland with their Calvinist co-religionists. Later an influx of English settlers from neighboring colonies intensified the national imbalance, reduced the ability of the Dutch colonists to withstand English encroachment, and led to a bloodless surrender of sovereignty to England on 6 September 1664. In order to encourage immigration to the colony, as well as economic development, the Charter of Freedoms and Exemption passed in 1629 allocated tracts of land along the Hudson River to "patroons," who were required to import and settle fifty families upon their estates or "manors" within a four-year period.

Many of the Scots in New Amsterdam were temporary traders, and resident merchants objected to competition from Scots peddlers with lower overhead costs.[9] To overcome this the council passed an ordinance in 1648 that allowed only residents of three years' standing who had built suitable premises to engage in wholesale or retail trade. Despite this the Scottish merchants were still thought to be making too much profit while contributing too little to the community, and from 1657 they were required to pay a burgher-right fee of twenty guilders if they wished to establish and operate a business.

Although the New Netherlands and its eight thousand inhabitants came under English rule in 1664, the Dutch still had a number of small colonies in the West Indies. They seized Curaçao in 1634, and it became a base for their operations against the Spanish and a source of salt for the Dutch herring industry. Certain of the small Dutch colonies contained Scots. When the English captured the Dutch island of Nevis in 1664, they found among its European inhabitants sixty-four English, Scottish, and Irish settlers.[10]

By the early seventeenth century Sweden had become the dominant power in the Baltic area, if not in northern Europe, and was expanding both politically and economically. One facet of this expansion was the foundation of New Sweden on the Delaware River by the Swedish West India Company in 1638. This colony was founded under the leadership of Peter Minuits, a German who had served as governor of the New Netherlands from 1625 to 1633. Ship passenger lists dated 1641 and 1648 have survived and indicate that the vast majority of colonists were Swedes; there were a few Finns, Danes, and Dutch.[11] This small Swedish colony, wedged between the Dutch New Netherlands to the north and English Virginia to the south, soon clashed with its neighbors partly over territorial expansion but mainly over its taking of a share of the lucrative fur trade at the expense of its neighbors, especially the Dutch. In 1655 the Dutch forced the Swedish colony to capitulate and quickly absorbed the colony of New Sweden into the New Netherlands at a time when Sweden was too absorbed in fighting the Poles and Danes to intervene.

There was a Scottish element in New Sweden, albeit a minimal and peripheral one. The first Swedish company that aimed to trade with the Americas was the South Company of Sweden, founded during 1627, with the sole Swedish rights of commerce with "Africa, Asia, America and Magellanica or Terra Australia." Among those who subscribed capital to the company were two

Scottish residents of Sweden, Dr. James Robertson and James Forbes. This company's plans for trading with the West Indies never materialized, and the company was merged into the United South Ship Company of Sweden. In 1636 the Swedish West India Company was formed under the leadership of the aforementioned Peter Minuits. Among those who accompanied the first expedition from Sweden to settle on the Delaware in 1638 was Jacob Evertsen Sandelin, described as a Scotsman; later he is recorded as skipper of a merchant vessel, the *Scotch Dutchman*, that traded with the colonists on the South River, Delaware, in the summer of 1646. Another Scot who took part in the 1638 voyage was Sander Clerck, sailor on the *Key of Kalmar.* Among a handful of the colonists of New Sweden whose surnames suggest a Scottish origin were Richard Scot in 1655 and George Lamberton, co-founder of the Delaware Company who came into conflict with the Swedes there around 1645. In Sweden a number of Scottish residents had connections with the Swedish West India Company; Richard Clerck acted as the company's commissary from 1646, and merchants such as George Garden and Jacob Lyall distributed the tobacco sent to Sweden from the Delaware.[12]

Of all the European nations that established colonies in North America, England has had the dominant influence. English involvement with the Americas can be traced back to the voyages of John Cabot in 1497–98, but she did not successfully form a colony there until the early seventeenth century. A number of social, economic, political, and religious factors combined in late Elizabethan and early Stuart England to give great incentive to colonize the New World. The latter half of the sixteenth century was a period of economic change in England and much of western Europe. Because of the vast quantities of gold and silver imported by the Spanish from their American colonies, the money supply expanded and inflation resulted. A rapid rise in urbanization and urban poverty resulted in swarms of beggars thronging the roads and streets and threatening the social order. The urban poor were, in England, peasants who had been effectively dispossessed because of the restructuring of the land tenure system. Their numbers were later increased by demobilized and discharged soldiers. One way of reducing this problem was by exporting the surplus population that the economy, expanding as it was, could not absorb. Religious discontent was another major factor that resulted in emigration from many European countries. The most famous example of that was the Pilgrim Fathers, who left England for Holland before emigrating to New England during 1620.

It has been claimed that the experience gained through the attempts to colonize Ireland in the late sixteenth century and early seventeenth century proved invaluable to the successful establishment of colonies in Virginia and New England. The English military conquest of Ireland and the subsequent settlement there of thousands of discharged soldiers introduced a disequilibrium into the social structure. To combat this, attempts were made to diversify the occupational structure, to introduce a wide range of occupations such as craftsmen, traders, and large and small landowners. An analysis of passengers of transatlantic emigrant ships of the early seventeenth century reveals how diverse the jobs of the settlers were and how companies made conscious efforts to provide labor relevant to the demand in the plantations. On occasion, when suitable skills were unobtainable in England, the companies would recruit on the continent. Arguments such as the availability of cheap land and opportunities for the younger sons of the gentry, which were used to encourage Englishmen to settle in Ireland, were soon used to persuade them to go to Virginia.

The first, though short-lived, attempt at forming an English colony in America occurred at Roanoke Island, Virginia (now in North Carolina), from 1584 to 1590. The inhabitants of this colony abandoned the settlement and disappeared around 1588.

Further settlement by the English was postponed until the war with Spain was concluded. The accession of James VI of Scotland to the throne of England in 1603 and the end of the war with Spain the following year enabled the English to engage in the colonization of America. Initially colonial enterprise was in the hands of joint stock companies that looked upon America as a major source of vital primary products and therefore profits. Later, discontent with religious conditions in England and especially the anti-Puritan religious policy of the king became a vital factor in the decision to emigrate. These motivational factors were to have implications for the different societies developed by the English settlers in America. Not only did the English plant settlements on the North American mainland, they also formed colonies on offshore islands, some of which they took from the Spanish, sometimes to guarantee the supply of an important raw material.

In 1606 two joint-stock companies were formed with the aim of establishing English colonies in America: the London Company and the Plymouth Company. Under their charter of 1606 the London Company was allowed to operate between Cape Fear and the Hudson River, and the Plymouth Company was to operate between the Potomac River and Cape Cod. The latter company was supported by merchants from southwest England who had a long involvement with Newfoundland; it was basically interested in achieving a guaranteed supply of raw materials such as timber, fish, oil, and furs. For these merchants settlement was a secondary, though essential, aspect of their enterprise. The London Company was concerned with obtaining timber and the associated products of tar and pitch. Timber was also used to smelt iron and make glass and potash for soap. Rising demand for such products coupled with the rapidly diminishing indigenous supplies of timber in England made the venture an attractive commercial proposition. Later in 1618 the introduction of tobacco from the West Indies completely revolutionized the economic base of the colony. The Plymouth Company's settlement at Sagadahoc was an early failure whereas the Virginia Company's settlement at Jamestown grew in strength. The introduction of tobacco required a rapid expansion of the labor force, which was provided initially by importing indentured servants from England, later by importing Negro slaves from Africa.

Permanent English settlement in New England began in 1620 with the arrival of the Pilgrims on the *Mayflower.* Maryland was formally established by Royal Charter in 1632. A feature of that colony was the degree of religious tolerance permitted by the lord proprietor, George Calvert. The economy there, too, like that of neighboring Virginia, was based on tobacco and depended on an increasing volume of imported slaves and indentured servants.

Although Maryland and Virginia were subject to the Crown of England and described as English, their inhabitants were cosmopolitan from the beginning. For example, the London Company, wishing to develop glass and soap industries in Virginia, recruited specialized labor in Poland, where those industries were already well established. In 1608 the *Mary and Margaret*, under Captain Christopher Newport, had among its passengers a number of Poles, including Zbigniew Stefanski, a glassblower; Jan Mata, a soap boiler; and Jan Bogdan, a shipbuilder.[13] In a letter written on 5 October 1607 to King Philip III of Spain Pedro de Zuniga, the Spanish ambassador in London, stated that King James wished the Scots to participate in the Virginia colony.[14] The ambassador reported the departure of 120 men on two vessels from England to Virginia, saying also that "the King is urging the Scots to go there."[15] In 1621 a group of 227 Walloons and French emigrated to Virginia, but the majority of emigrants to Virginia and New England at this time seem to have originated in East Anglia and southern England.

Bermuda, otherwise known as the Somers Islands, began to be colonized after a ship, bound for Virginia, was wrecked there in 1609. In 1624 St. Christopher's (alias St. Kitt's) was settled by English refugees from Guiana, and from that island the English had colonized Nevis, Montserrat, and Antigua by 1632. James Hay, earl of Carlisle, a Scot, was granted a proprietary patent by Charles I in 1627 for the colonization of all the Caribees.[16] In that same year English settlers landed on Barbados, which became a major source of tobacco, cotton, indigo, and (from 1640) sugar. The Providence Island Company established a Puritan colony on Santa Catalina in 1630 and later expanded to include Tortuga. In 1646 settlers from Bermuda began to migrate to the Bahamas.

Surviving ship passenger lists to the West Indies at that time contrast with those of vessels going to New England and to a lesser extent Virginia. They indicate that the vast majority of those going to the West Indies were young, single, male indentured servants who were not necessarily going to settle permanently, while ships going to the mainland colonies, especially New England, had whole families aboard, presumably for permanent settlement. The last major island in the Caribbean to come under English rule prior to the Restoration was Jamaica, which was captured in 1655. Scots in the early West Indian settlements are more difficult to identify than those who settled on contemporary mainland North America. One notable exception was Patrick Copeland, born in Aberdeen in 1572 and educated there.[17] He entered the service of the East India Company as a chaplain and later decided to emigrate to America to accept the position of rector of Henrico College, Virginia, and membership on the Council of Virginia. However, he did not reach the mainland, instead settling in 1626 in Bermuda, where he worked as a schoolmaster until 1648, after which he removed to the Bahamas and died there in the 1650s. Patrick Copeland was one of the first Scots to settle and die in the New World.

The first reference to America in Scottish records occurred in the final years of the sixteenth century. On 25 January 1597 the provost, baillies, and council of Aberdeen received a "haill universall see kart of Europe, Affrica and Asaia and new found landes of America" from Robert Lindsay, a pilot, who received their gratitude and forty merks.[18] There is evidence that, by implication, indicates that Scotland had economic links with America from a relatively early date.[19] In 1600 the *Grace of God of Dundee* returned from Newfoundland with a cargo of fish. In 1605 the Danes, wishing to re-establish links with Greenland, recruited a number of experienced mariners in England and Scotland. In 1606 one of these, a Scot named John Cunningham, captain of the *Lion,* voyaged to Greenland and, via Cumberland Sound, to the coast of Labrador.[20] Presumably by coincidence another Cunningham, Sir James Cunningham, was granted a patent to fish off the coast of Greenland by James VI under the Great Seal of Scotland on 24 May 1617. This enterprise was short-lived probably because of the hostility of the English Muscovy Company, which felt that its monopoly was being threatened by Scots fishing off the coasts of Spitzbergen and off Greenland; but at least one cargo of "trayne oyle" was brought into Leith from Greenland in 1617. On 7 November 1616 Captain William Murray was granted the monopoly of tobacco importation for twenty-one years.[21] Whether he traded directly with America or bought supplies in London is not clear. Another Scottish merchant named William Murray was operating in Virginia around 1662, but so far no link between the two has been established.[22] Economic links invariably led to settlement. First, factors came to buy raw materials and distribute manufactured goods; they were followed by their families until a virtual colony was established. An example is the Glasgow-Virginia tobacco trade of the eighteenth century.

The distinction of being the first Scot to plan, organize, and establish a Scottish settlement in North America belongs to Sir William Alexander (1577–1640). As a courtier at the court of James I in London, he became increasingly aware of the colonizing efforts in America, not only by England but also by Spain, France, and Holland. Contact with Captain John Mason, governor of Newfoundland between 1615 and 1621, persuaded him that there were benefits to Scotland of building a colony in America. He in turn persuaded the king in September 1621 to grant him a charter, under the Crown of Scotland, of territory lying between New England and Newfoundland, despite existing French claims to the area. In 1622 a small expedition set sail from Kirkcudbright, wintering in St. John's, Newfoundland. The following June the colonists embarked on the *St. Luke,* which had sailed from London in March 1623 for St. John's, and sailed along the Acadian coastline on a voyage of exploration without establishing a settlement. In March 1627 two further ships were sent to aid the Scots, the *Eagle* from London and another vessel from Dunbarton; this led to a Scottish colony being founded at Port Royal on the Bay of Fundy.[23] On 1 July 1629 another group of Scots, seventy in all, under the leadership of James Stewart, Lord Ochiltree, landed at Baleine on Cape Breton Island. Thirty died there, and the remainder surrendered to the French, who transported them to England on board the *Saint Jean* later that year. This Cape Breton colony was presumably the one proposed by Sir Robert Gordon of Lochinvar in his *Encouragements for such as shall have intention to be undertakers in the New Plantation of Cape Breton, now New Galloway, in America* published in Edinburgh in 1625.[24] The attempt to establish a Scottish colony in Nova Scotia came to an abrupt end in 1632 with the Treaty of St.-Germain-en-Laye between England and France.

This was in part an agreement that the Scots would withdraw their claim to Nova Scotia, to which the French had made earlier claim. The settlement was subsequently abandoned and the surviving colonists shipped off to Newfoundland or England. It is possible that Captain Andrew Forrester, one of the leading settlers at Port Royal, returned to America, not to Nova Scotia but to Long Island.[25] In 1760 the earl of Stirling petitioned the king, claiming that his ancestor Sir William Alexander had been given Long Island in 1635. The petition also refers to thirty-six Scots colonists under Captain Andrew Forrester on Long Island around 1640, which correlates with other references, such as "about the same time [1640] Captain Forrester, a Scotchman, claimed Long Island for the Dowager of Stirling."

Except for the aforementioned Nova Scotia colony hard evidence of a Scottish presence in early-seventeenth-century America is very difficult to find. However, a close examination of surviving records of the period suggests that in fact Scottish sailors did voyage there, that a number of Scots did settle there at least temporarily, and that a number of Scots emigrants to the American plantations can be positively identified. Probably the main reason so few Scots emigrated to the American colonies during the first half of the seventeenth century was that there were destinations nearer home that offered as good, if not better, opportunities: Poland, then increasingly Ulster, and, to some extent, England. The first known Scot in English America was a Thomas Henderson from Fife, one of the original settlers of Jamestown, Virginia.[26] George Keith, a Scots-born minister, emigrated from England on the *Plough* to Bermuda in 1612. In 1617 he sailed, with his wife Susan, to Virginia on the *George,* settling as a minister in Elizabeth City.[27] Another early Scottish minister in Bermuda was the Reverend George Stirke, who settled there in 1623 and died there in 1637. Details on these men come from the records of the Church of Scotland,[28] but for ordinary emigrants there is minimal biographical data. Although a few of the surviving ship passenger lists of people going from England to the colonies have survived, the vast majority give very little personal information apart from name and age. A surname analysis of the surviving early ship passenger lists and colonial documents suggests that the level of Scottish emigration to the plantations was greater than hitherto thought. A notable example of this would be the passenger list of the *Globe,* under master Jeremy Blackman, which sailed from Gravesend, Kent, to Virginia on 7 August 1635. This document, which is at the Public Record Office, contains the names and ages of 159 emigrants to America. Eight of the names are definitely Scottish: William Ennis, 23; Robert Vass, 19; James Scott, 21; John Seton, 19; John Ramsay, 30; Thomas Grigg, 16; John Swan, 18; and Thomas Tate, 22. Beyond these there are others who could be Scots. So far, of the aforementioned individuals, one has been positively identified. John Seton was the second son of Sir David Seton of Parbroath, Fife, and his wife Mary Gray.[29] It is likely that John Burnett, who sailed from London to Virginia on the *Abraham of London,* under master John Barker, in 1635, was the John Burnett, merchant of Aberdeen, who settled in Virginia and was given the monopoly of trade with Scotland on 2 July 1638.[30] Dutch shipping records also mention a few Scots who sailed on emigrant ships to the New Netherlands.[31] Sander Leenaerts Glen, 34, from "Duysert in Schotland" (Dysart, Fife?) and his wife Catalyn Jacobs or Doncasson, 24, from "Alone in Schotland" (Ellon, Aberdeenshire?) sailed from Amsterdam on the *Harinck* during 1639. This man worked as a fur trader for the Dutch West India Company at Fort Nassau on the Delaware River, and later at Fort Orange on the Hudson River, before settling on his estate of Nova Scotia near Schenectady in 1658. Another Scot in the New Netherlands was John Hamilton, a soldier from Hamilton, who sailed from Holland on the *Bonte Koe* in 1660.

Emigration seems to have received a fresh impetus around 1631 for reasons that are unclear. In Scotland, although there was more immediate access to Ireland, some were considering the possibility of New England. A letter from John Kerr in Prestonpans to a correspondent in London indicates that religious intolerance was a factor: "For there be many . . . that inclyne to that countrie [New England], if so be that the persecution by the prelates continue, I mean not so much of ministers that are abused, as near 60 young men that are of rare gifts who cannot get a lawful entry into the ministry also divers professions of some good means that labor to keep themselves undefyled."[32] The religious policies of the Stuarts had encouraged, if not enforced, emigration to the plantations. As early as 1619 Archbishop Spotswood had threatened nonconformists, or dissident ministers in the neighborhood of Edinburgh, with loss of their stipend and even banishment to America.[33] The Civil War, which in its aftermath led to the mass deportation of Scottish prisoners of war, attracted American colonists, who gave active support to the king or to Parliament. Cromwell received the active support of a number of New Englanders while the king tended to receive support from Virginia and the West Indies.[34] Among those who returned to fight for Charles I was David Munro of Katewell, who had emigrated from Scotland to Virginia during 1641; he served as an officer in the Scots army that invaded England in support of the king in 1648. He was captured after the Battle of Preston in 1648, transported back to Virginia, and disposed of as an indentured servant. The practice of banishing political, religious, and criminal undesirables had long been established, and America soon became one of their destinations. As early as 1618 the king proposed to banish "notorious lewd livers" on the borders of England and Scotland "to Virginia or other remote colony."[35] The practice of banishment to the plantations as a punishment was to be fully utilized later in the seventeenth century and throughout the eighteenth century. Among the Edinburgh records there is reference to an attempt by a merchant to recruit emigrants for Virginia: "21 July 1647. Ordaines proclamation be sound of drum to pas throw this brugh and liberties thairof at the desire of David Pebles marchand to invite such sort of persones, men and women, as he can agrie with upon guid conditiones to goe with him to Virginia and make ane plantation thair."[36] Peebles evidently succeeded in recruiting immigrants for his plantation in Virginia; he is later recorded with his family and sixteen indentured servants settled on an 833-acre land grant at Powell's Creek south of the James River in Virginia in 1650.[37]

Although the Scottish mercenary soldier is a well-known and established figure, less attention has been given to his seafaring equivalent. During the seventeenth century many Scots sailors were employed by foreign shipmasters, and some were engaged in trading voyages to America. When these men were home, their reports may well have generated a desire to emigrate to America. This was the case in Scotland around 1770 when Highland soldiers returning from duty in America encouraged the exodus from Scotland to America. The Records of the High Court of the Admiralty of England contain many references to Scots sailors in America.[38] For example, *Rex and Bettany* v. *Henry Taverner* (1638) refers to a John Smith, 30, from Burntisland, Fife, a sailor on the *Elizabeth and Sara,* under master H. Taverner, which sailed from Falmouth to Virginia in 1637. *Jesson* v. *Read* (1653) refers to William Young, 22, mariner, Leith, aboard the Flemish ship the *Golden Lion,* under master Nathaniel Jesson, which carried tobacco from Virginia to Amsterdam in 1652. *Gorton* v. *Watlington* (1639) refers to a David Nicholson, 28, sailor, Dysart, on the *Truelove of London* with a cargo of tobacco from Virginia. The case of *Edwards* v. *Bushell* (1657) refers to Thomas Gowan, 30, mariner, Dysart, who joined the ship *Negro* in New England in June 1656.

These records also prove that tobacco was being imported directly into Scotland earlier than is generally known. The *Martha of London,* under master Henry Taverner, arrived at Newark on the Clyde in January 1639 with a cargo of tobacco from the West Indies. The case of *Gibbons* v. *Copeland* (1645) concerned a vessel with a cargo of tobacco and staves beached at Caernarvon while en route from Boston, New England, to Glasgow and listing a Scot among the crew. In the case of *Weston* v. *Saunders* (1637–40), there is reference to an Andrew Ritchie from Dunfermline who sold his ship in Virginia and worked his passage back together with a consignment of tobacco aboard the *Fleur-de-Lys.* The records of Trinity House, London, contain information on Scottish sailors who voyaged across the Atlantic at that time. The mate of the *Greyhound,* which arrived from Iceland with a cargo of fish in 1612, was a Scot.[39] Dunbarton burgh records refer to a cargo of twenty thousand pounds of tobacco brought from Martinique to the Clyde in 1647.[40] A report on the state of Scottish shipping and commerce carried out by Thomas Tucker in 1655 at the request of Oliver Cromwell stated that, although a number of trading voyages had been made from Scotland to the West Indies, they had been discontinued because they were not economically viable.[41] This was the experience of James Hamilton of Boighall who complained to the Scots Parliament on 27 July 1644 that his trading voyages to the West Indies, where he exchanged Scottish merchandise for one hundred thousand pounds of tobacco, were made unprofitable through the imposition of excise duty.[42] Financial loss was not the only hazard facing those who traded across the Atlantic at that time; David Balfour, Alexander and James Riddoch, and a number of Scots merchants bound for the West Indies were taken captive by Moorish pirates and imprisoned in Algiers. The only ships known to have sailed directly from Scotland to Canada in the early seventeenth century were those employed by Sir William Alexander. David Kirke, born in Dunkirk but of Scottish origin, was later an associate of Alexander. The case of *David Kirke and the Canada Company* v. *Eustace Mann* (1632) reveals that the majority of vessels he used between 1627 and 1632 were English; however, two ships, and particularly the masters, employed by Alexander in 1627 (the *Eagle,* master Ninian Barclay, and the *Morning Star,* master Andrew Baxter) may well have been Scottish.[43]

Scotland had long-established shipping and commercial links with the Baltic, Scandinavia, and all the main ports along the coastline of the North Sea and the Atlantic. By the early seventeenth century many of her ships were under contract to merchants and were shipping cargoes between continental ports. Scottish sailors were also employed on foreign ships. William Lithgow, "the painful perigrinator," met a Scots skipper in Flemish service in Crete during 1610.[44] There were certainly Scots aboard the Dutch East India ships by the seventeenth century. For example, a settlement was executed at Batavia by Henry Schanks, a Scot from Leith, in favor of Trinity Hospital, Leith, on 24 April 1625.[45] Probably the most wide-ranging voyage of the early seventeenth century from Scotland occurred due to the activities of the Guinea Company of Scotland. James VI granted a concession to Patrick Maule of Panmure, James Maxwell of Innerwick, Henry, son of Sir William Alexander, and Sir Thomas Thomson of Duddingston to trade with certain parts of Africa.[46] In 1636 they entered a contract with James Binerett in Aachen and Jeronimus Leisvelt and Mathias Linnen, both in London, to carry out this trade. In 1637 their ship, the *St. Andrew of Edinburgh,* was seized on its return voyage from Africa by the Portuguese governor of St. Thomas, Don Lorenzo Perez de Tavora, the crew was murdered, and the cargo of two hundred pounds of gold worth ten thousand pounds was stolen.[47] Since Guinea gold was being used in Edinburgh around that time, other voyages may have proved successful. Mathias Linnen, Jeronimus Leisvelt, and James Binerett evidently settled in Edinburgh, where, known as Mathew Lynnen, Jeremy Leechfield, and James Burrett, they operated as merchants and sent at least one other vessel, the *Golden Lion of Leith,* to Guinea before 1638.[48]

It is quite clear that Scotland possessed both the ships and experienced seamen capable of voyaging to America by the early 1600s; therefore this cannot be put forward as a reason why emigration from Scotland across the Atlantic was minimal through much of the seventeenth century.

Prior to 1640 a number of Scots, perhaps fewer than two hundred in all, had settled within the English plantations in America, with a handful in New France and the New Netherlands. The event that led to a rapid transition in that state of affairs was the English Civil War or, as it is known by some historians, the War of the Three Kingdoms. In 1637, when an armed insurrection broke out in Scotland against the religious policies of Charles I, the Scots overwhelmingly opposed the Crown, but news of the king's execution was received in Scotland with great disapproval. The Scots Parliament declared his son to be Charles II, but before the new king could return to his kingdom Oliver Cromwell invaded Scotland with the Parliamentary army. At Dunbar on 3 September 1650 the Scots army was defeated by the Parliamentarians. Three thousand Scots were killed and ten thousand taken prisoner. Many of the prisoners were marched as captives to England, and a proportion were shipped overseas to work as indentured labor in the English colonies and elsewhere. Those transported formed the first substantial group of Scots "emigrants" in colonial America. *The Proceedings of the Council of State relating to Scotland during the period of the Commonwealth* (dated 19 September 1650) authorized the transportation of 900 Scots prisoners to Virginia and 150 to New England.[49] There had been an earlier, but less well-documented, precedent for this action following the Battle of Preston in 1648, when Parliament authorized the transportation of 500 Scots prisoners by Bristol merchants to the plantations or to Venice. John Jessup was permitted to transport some to an undisclosed destination "provided he does not take them to Ireland," and Colonel Robert Montgomery's petition for two shiploads of Scots prisoners for the "foreign plantations" was accepted.[50]

On 11 November 1650 a consignment of Scots prisoners was shipped from London to Boston, Massachusetts, arriving there early in 1651.[51] They were transported to America on the *Unity*, under master Augustus Walker, and sold on arrival for around seven years' servitude at thirty pounds each. Sixty-two prisoners were purchased to work in the ironworks at Lynn and the rest dispersed to nearby towns in Maine, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire. After having served their periods of indenture many of the Scots settled in New England while others, unable to return home, moved south to other colonies. Among those who remained was John Stewart, who, in a petition to Governor Andros on 19 September 1688, stated, "Your poor petitioner was in service in five battles under the noble Marquis of Montrose in Scotland, for His Majesty King Charles the First, and thereby suffered and received many dangerous wounds, having escaped with his life through mercy . . . was afterwards taken by Lord Cromwell in the fight at Dunbar and after sent into this land where I was sold for eight years service to purchasing future freedom. . . ." John Stewart died in Springfield, Massachusetts, on 21 April 1691.[52] Charles Gordon, an immigrant from Aberdeen, wrote from Perth Amboy, New Jersey, on 5 March 1685 to Andrew Irvine, a merchant in Edinburgh, saying, "I am just now drinking to one of them [the old Buckskin planters] our countryman, who was sent away by Cromwell to New England; a slave from Dunbar, living now in Woodbridge like a Scots laird, wishes his countrymen and his native soil well, though he never intends to see it."[53]

It should be noted that not all the Scottish prisoners of war were banished to the Americas. Some are believed to have been taken to work in Guinea and Tangiers. Cromwell offered one thousand of them to Cardinal Mazarini on 24 January 1651 for the defense of Candia, and a month after the Battle of Worcester a further consignment was offered to Venice.[54]

On 23 December 1650 a levy was called out in Scotland with the object of providing an army for Charles II, who was crowned at Scone on 1 January 1651. This army duly marched south into England, where it was joined by a number of English Royalists. On 3 September 1651, exactly a year after the Battle of Dunbar, the largely Scottish Royalist army engaged the Parliamentary army under Oliver Cromwell at Worcester. Again the Royalist army was routed, and many prisoners were taken, including around six thousand Scots. A substantial number of these men ended their days in New England, Virginia, Jamaica, Tangiers, and Guinea. On 21 October 1651 the Council of State ordered that some of the Scottish prisoners be transported to the Bermudas.[55] Becx and Company, ironmasters at Lynn, Massachusetts, were again keen to obtain the services of such "indentured servants," and on 8 November 1651 the *John and Sara,* under master John Greene, sailed from Gravesend for Boston, Massachusetts, with a cargo of 261 Scottish prisoners of war, who on landing were marched to Lynn to begin their years of servitude. A later consignment of 82 Scots was distributed among the settlements in Massachusetts and neighboring provinces. To legalize the arrangements, the prisoners were required to sign indentureship agreements with their new masters; for example:

> This indenture witnesses that I, Alexander Gordon, Scotsman, lately arrived on the coast of New England, do covenant, agree and promise to serve Goodman Stratton, planter of Watertown the full space of five years wherein I do promise to do him true and faithfull service, not to absent myself day or night out of his family during the time of apprenticeship aforesaid without his licence or consent, and that I will not entangle or engage myself in any way of contracts or marriage during the aforesaid time, all his lawful demands and injunctions I do promise to fulfill to my uttermost power and

> ability; all this the aforesaid Alexander do likewise promise, bind and engage myself to serve my full time to some of his sons until it be fully expired if Providence should take away my present master by death. Witness my hand. Alexander Gordon (his mark and seal). October 15, 1652.[56]

It is no coincidence that the Scots Charitable Society was established in Boston on 6 January 1657 "for the relief of Scotchmen"; around that time many of the Dunbar and Worcester veterans would have been ending their years of servitude. Also a number of Scots shipped to the Caribbean may have been prisoners of war. On 3 September 1655 the English Admiralty ordered a number of English, Scots, and Dutch mariners, then imprisoned in Plymouth Castle, to be sent to Barbados. The following year Martin Noell contracted to transport twelve hundred men from Knockfergus, Ireland, and Portpatrick, Scotland, to Jamaica. Finally in July 1656 Antiguan merchants successfully petitioned the English government for three hundred Scots.[57] The Scottish prisoners of war who were sold into virtual slavery in New England were initially looked down upon by the English settlers. According to the Massachusetts Bay Militia Regulations dated 26 May 1652, "all Scotsmen, Negroes and Indians, inhabiting with or servants to the English, from the age of 16 to 60 years shall be listed and hereby enjoined to attend training." By 1655 their position may have improved, as the records treat them separately and distinctly from Negroes and Indians. At the second session of the General Court of the Colony of New Plymouth held on 2 July 1655 "it was ordered that all such Scots as are in any townships in this Government shall bear arms and train as others, excepting such are servants, from month to month." The Maine State Probate Office has wills and testaments dating from 1640. Some seem to have been made by Scots who were banished by Cromwell to New England: Niven Agnew, Kittery, Maine, probate 16 September 1687; James Grant, York, Maine, probate 11 January 1694; John Brody, Kittery, Maine, probate 6 December 1681; Alexander Cooper, Kittery, Maine, probate 28 February 1684; John Taylor, Berwick, Maine, probate 23 February 1691; Robert Junkins, York, Maine, probate 2 January 1699; James Warren, Berwick, Maine, probate 24 December 1702; Malcolm McIntyre, probate 2 October 1705; and Alexander Maxwell, York, Maine, probate 8 October 1707.

It is clear that there was a sizable Scottish element in the colonial population of the early English settlements in America and the West Indies, but the majority arrived involuntarily. The emphasis of Scottish emigration was still toward European destinations.

# CHAPTER TWO

# *The American Apprenticeship*

## *(1660–1707)*

### *The Northern Colonies*

NEWFOUNDLAND • The imposition of the Navigation Acts during the 1650s and 1660s had a marked influence on English colonial trade. This was especially true in the case of Newfoundland, which had an economy traditionally dependent on fishing and the fur trade. Newfoundland was not, however, considered an English colony, but an integral part of the kingdom of England, which meant that colonial goods could be landed as if it were part of England proper, thus conforming with the Navigation Acts. This loophole enabled a degree of development of an entrepôt trade. During the late seventeenth century the island had a basic resident population of mostly southwestern English or Irish origin, numbering a few thousand but fluctuating markedly due to seasonal factors. Scottish emigration to Newfoundland seems to have been a feature of the late eighteenth century rather than of the late seventeenth although Scottish merchant vessels, such as the *Grace of God of Dundee,* seem to have voyaged to Newfoundland intermittently during the seventeenth century.[1] Merchants and planters in the American and West Indian colonies sent cargoes of tobacco, foodstuffs, naval stores, molasses, rum, and sugar to Newfoundland to be exchanged for fish and various European commodities available there. Cargoes arrived from various European ports, including Scottish ones, with officially approved salt for the Newfoundland fisheries but also with smuggled textiles, wine, and miscellaneous

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NEW ENGLAND • During the late seventeenth century, although New England continued to attract immigrants from the British Isles, the majority seem to have been more attracted to the West Indies and to the American colonies that were being rapidly developed to the south: "Very few English, Scots, Irish or foreigners have come to plant there [Massachusetts] for seven years; they rather go to Carolina" (1680).[4] Economic opportunity and religious liberty seem to have been more limited in New England at that period than elsewhere in America, and this greatly influenced the emphasis of settlement.

Probably the majority of Scots in New England then were those who had been banished there by Cromwell in the 1650s, men who had finished their period of servitude, married, and settled down. Banishment and transportation to the American plantations was again used, this time by Charles II and his brother James to dispose of many of their Covenanter prisoners. In the aftermath of the earl of Argyll's abortive rebellion in 1685, William Arbuckle, merchant in Glasgow, transported from Leith to New England a number of Covenanters, many of whom came from Argyllshire; for example, Murdoch McIsaak, Kintyre; Donald McVicar, Inveraray; and Duncan McVicar, Campbelltown.[5]

Religious intolerance in Scotland caused a number of Scots to seek refuge in America. The Covenanter William Kelso, a surgeon and apothecary in Ayr, fought at the Battle of Bothwell Bridge in 1679 and took refuge in Ulster. After being captured in Lisburn, he escaped and fled to Boston, Massachusetts, on the *Anne and Hester* in April 1680.[6] The persecution of Quakers in Scotland resulted in many of them emigrating from Scotland to New Jersey in the 1680s; but two Quakers, Thomas and John Cloutman, chose to leave Aberdeen for Massachusetts in 1690.[7] The decline of the power and influence of the Episcopalians after 1689 led to some of their ministers settling in England and America, including James Honeyman from Kincardineshire, a minister in Rhode Island from 1704 to 1750;[8] the Aberdonian James Keith, a minister in Massachusetts until his death in 1719;[9] and George Murison, a missionary in Connecticut until his death in 1708.[10]

Very few indentured servants seem to have gone to New England in the late seventeenth century, and of these only two Scots have been identified. James Thompson and Lawrence Scotland sailed from Liverpool to New England in 1699.[11]

John Menzies, son of Alexander Menzies of Cultermains, Lanarkshire, was admitted to the Faculty of Advocates in Scotland in 1677 and subsequently emigrated to Boston, where he was appointed judge of the Vice Admiralty Court of Massachusetts.[12] Whether he confronted or connived with the Scottish merchants based in New England who were actively smuggling and ignoring the Navigation Acts is not revealed, but according to available data Scots merchants and shipmasters were busy, throughout the colonies, in such trade with the tacit approval of colonial officials, many of whom were Scots. Among Edward Randolph's letters in 1682 are references like "*The Swallow of Salem* brought Scotch goods" and "Three trials in Boston—the first for Scotch goods brought in *The Susanna* . . . the merchant being a Scotchman." In December 1682, Governor Cranfield of New Hampshire referred to the trial of George Jeffries, a Scot and a "church member," in Portsmouth, New Hampshire; Jeffries, the owner of a Scottish vessel (the *George?*), had been tried on a charge of being involved in illicit trade. In January 1683 Cranfield wrote, "There are several Scotsmen here, who live here, and are great interlopers and bring in quantities of goods from Scotland." The position in Connecticut seems to have been similar: "a brig with a cargo of Scotch goods was seized by the Collector in New London in 1691, but he thought it better to come to terms with Gustavus Hamilton than to risk a trial in that colony." In Massachusetts the position had not changed by 1696, "yet illegal trade is carried on as much as ever to Scotland."[13] One of the most prominent Scots merchants in late-seventeenth-century New England was John Borland in Boston, who had links with other Scots both in Europe and American, men such as Robert Livingstone in Albany, New York, and Andrew Russell in Rotterdam. He also provided assistance to the Scots in Darien in 1699. On 3 December 1703 John Borland was tried by the English High Court of the Admiralty on a charge of trading from Boston via Curaçao to Amsterdam, in contravention of the Navigation Acts. William Fulton, John Cockburn, and John Porterfield, Scottish merchants in New England, loaded the *Society* in Bristol, Rhode Island, in 1699 with provisions for the Scots at Darien, contrary to restrictions imposed by the English government, and cleared the customs on the pretext that the goods were destined for Curaçao.[14]

The only relatively continuous records of the Scots in New England during this period are those of the Scots Charitable Society of Boston, founded in 1657.[15] The society was open to men born in Scotland or their sons. The register of membership covers the years 1657 to 1659, skips to 1665, and is complete from 1684 to 1707; it identifies 350 men who were admitted to the society. The majority of entries give no address; eight came from other American colonies, one from London, another from Ulster, and twenty-six give Scottish addresses, particularly Ayr. Occupations are listed in a number of instances. There were twelve merchants, seven tailors, seven mariners, two distillers, two carpenters, two chapmen, two ministers, and one from each of the following occupations: cooper, fisherman, lockmaker, shoemaker, glazier, bookbinder, smith, brickmaker, teacher, sugar boiler, sailor, surgeon, and vintner.

There is no evidence of large-scale Scottish migration to New England in the late seventeenth century. Scots, apart from those banished, seem to have migrated as individuals rather than in groups. By 1703 the authorities were considering the possibility of Scottish immigration; "the Province of Maine and the parts beyond the Kenebeck River, Pemaquid, and as far as St Croix would make better settlements than any in this province, if a Scotch colony might be settled there, the fishing, lumber and masting being more plenty and easy than any other part of America."[16]

RUPERT'S LAND • Although English navigators had explored Hudson Bay in the early seventeenth century, a permanent English presence in that region was not established until the latter half of that century. In 1665, two French-Canadian explorers, Medard Chouant des Groseillers and Pierre Radisson, attempted to persuade the French government to become involved in promoting the fur trade in the region of Hudson Bay. Discouraged by their reception at the French court, Graseilliers and Radisson crossed over to London, where they persuaded Prince Rupert of the economic potential of the Hudson Bay area. In 1668 the *Nonsuch,* under Captain Zachary Gillam, and the *Eaglet,* under Captain William Stannard, were sent to Hudson Bay to reconnoiter. The success of this voyage led to the formation by Royal Charter on 2 May 1670 of the Governor and Company of Merchant Adventurers trading into Hudson Bay. The territory surrounding Hudson Bay, within which Charles II gave the company the monopoly of trade and settlement, was named Rupert's Land. In 1672 the Hudson Bay Company decided to establish its first permanent settlement at Port Nelson (York Factory), where furs could be traded for English commodities.

Scottish participation in the activities of the Hudson Bay Company grew from a minor role in the seventeenth century to a major role by the nineteenth century. There are two reasons for the involvement of the Scots with the Hudson Bay Company. First, the company's ship masters were generally ordered to sail from London to Hudson Bay by way of the north of Scotland for the express purpose of avoiding French warships and privateers in the English Channel; for example, on 22 May 1691 Captain Leonard Edgcombe, about to sail from Gravesend, Kent, to York Fort on the Hayes River, Hudson Bay, was instructed "in your outward bound voyage to shape your course northwards round Scotland and not down the Channel."[17] Very often the company's ships would call into Orkney ports and recruit men to make up shortages in crew or servants. In 1702 the captain of the *Hudson's Bay* was ordered to recruit ten or twelve stout young Orkneymen.[18] In the late seventeenth century the Hudson Bay Company experienced difficulty in finding sufficient English seamen for its ships because the Royal Navy was absorbing every available mariner; consequently both had to employ foreign sailors to some degree. In 1693 the crew of the *Supply* was said to be chiefly "Scotch, Dutch and many boys."[19] The seamen who were recruited by the company for service at Hudson Bay included a number of Scots. For example, in March 1683 James Sinclair of Scouros, Calvin Oliphant, Burntisland, James Harrison, Burntisland, David Reidie, Burntisland, Magnus Brown, and George Forrest were recruited for four years' service at Hudson Bay.[20]

Second, the company found difficulty recruiting the correct caliber of men for the environment of Hudson Bay. It found that generally those who were recruited in London were unsuitable for the work or the climate, and the company increasingly turned to Scotland and particularly the Orkney Islands for suitable labor. In March 1691 Hugh Verner, a Scottish employee, was sent to Scotland to recruit indentured servants for four years' service at Hudson Bay at seven pounds to thirteen pounds per annum.[21] In 1693 the company was negotiating for ten to twelve Scotsmen aged between twenty and thirty. Some of the Scots employed—like John Couter and John Fullerton, who were engaged in Edinburgh during March 1683—were skilled craftsmen; James Moody, a Leith cooper, contracted for fifteen years' service in March 1683. Other men employed at Hudson Bay who were Scots or had Scottish names were Edward and Henry Gunn; John Pearson from Leith; James Swan, David Cleney and John Crooks from Prestonpans; Arthur MacArthur, a Highland gentleman; and Alexander Bayne.[22] From such small-scale beginnings the Scottish participation in the Hudson Bay Company was to develop into a major element over the next two centuries. The major differences between the other settlements in North America and that at Hudson Bay were the scale of operations and the fact that, at least initially, no wives or families went there.

## *New York*

In 1664 Peter Stuyvesant, governor of the New Netherlands, surrendered the Dutch colony to Colonel Richard Nicolls and his numerically superior English forces. Thus England gained a flourishing American colony at minimal cost. Charles II gave the colony to his brother James, duke of York; consequently the two main Dutch settlements, New Amsterdam and Fort Orange, were renamed New York and Albany after the duke's titles.

As has been already stated, the cosmopolitan population of the New Netherlands included a number of Scots. On 5 April 1669 the English Privy Council, presumably wishing to encourage emigration to New York from the British Isles, made an exception to the restrictions imposed by the Navigation Acts and authorized two Scottish vessels to sail to New York with Scottish merchants and settlers aboard; the ships were allowed to remain there to trade or fish.[23] A memorandum to the duke of York, endorsed "Read in Council April 5, 1669 Scotch ships to trade to New York," reads "that he obtain permission that HM subjects in Scotland who shall be induced to take conditions as planters may not only transport themselves but be allowed to make voyages thither and thence or remain on account of fishing, trade or transporting commodities of the growth and manufacture of H.M. territories to Barbados or other plantation."[24] Two Scottish ships, the *Hope* and the *James*, both of Leith, were engaged in this enterprise. The merchants and owners of the *Hope* petitioned the Privy Council of Scotland for "strong and idle beggers, vagabonds, egyptians, common and notorious whores, theeves and others dissulute and louse persons banished or stigmatised for gross crimes."[25] The Privy Council pans; Arthur MacArthur, a Highland gentleman; and Alexander Bayne.[22] From such small-scale beginnings the Scottish participation in the Hudson Bay Company was to develop into a major element over the next two centuries. The major differences between the other settlements in North America and that at Hudson Bay were the scale of operations and the fact that, at least initially, no wives or families went there.

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James Currie, provost of Edinburgh from 1673 to 1675, was probably one of those who financed the scheme. He had already financed cargoes of emigrants from Leith to Virginia or Barbados on the *Good Intent* and the *Ewe and the Lamb* in 1667, to Virginia on the *Convertin* and the *Ewe and the Lamb* in 1668, and to Virginia on the *Ewe and the Lamb* in 1669.

The Privy Council of Scotland continued to dispatch cargoes of criminals, undesirables, and religious and political prisoners to America, including New York. For example, on 21 October 1682 a score of gypsy prisoners in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh were shipped via Greenock to New York,[27] and in 1684 a group of Covenanter prisoners in Edinburgh were transported to New York.[28] This latter consignment was organized by George Lockhart, a Scottish merchant in New York, together with two Edinburgh burgesses.

Not all the Scots in New York arrived there as prisoners to be sold as indentured servants; some arrived from elsewhere in the American colonies. A number of Scots who had originally emigrated to nearby New Jersey eventually settled in New York. Examples are David Mudie, who had sailed from Montrose to New Jersey on the *Thomas and Benjamin* in 1684 and had become a merchant in New York by 1690; Robert and Thomas Fullerton, also from Angus, who followed the same pattern (although the latter moved to Barbados during 1691);[29] and David Munro and

William Murray, two refugees from Darien who settled in New York in 1700.[30] One of the most prominent Scottish immigrants in late-seventeenth-century New York was Robert Livingstone, who went to Albany via Charlestown, New England, in 1673. Livingstone was born in 1654, the son of Rev. John Livingstone, minister of Ancrum, Roxburghshire.[31] During the 1660s the family fled to Holland to avoid religious persecution. While there, Livingstone learned Dutch, which enabled him to obtain a post as interpreter to the English colonial administrators in Albany. In 1679 he married Alida Schuyler, daughter of a Dutch settler in Albany. Livingstone engaged in the fur trade and shipped cargoes of beaver pelts to Europe; for example, in October 1684 he dispatched a consignment of furs on the *Thomas and Anne* from New York via London to his brother-in-law Andrew Russell, a Scottish merchant in Rotterdam. Livingstone also had commercial links with merchants such as the Scot John Borland in Boston, Massachusetts. Albany, lying on the northern periphery of effective English control, was increasingly subjected to hostile encroachment by the Indians and their French allies. In April 1693 Robert Livingstone wrote, "We are in such fear of the enemy at Albany every day, that the French Indians come to the very gates and snatch away the children."[32] Another Scot who was involved in repelling the French and Indians was Patrick McGregor, who had emigrated from Scotland to New Jersey in 1684, possibly on the *Thomas and Benjamin*.[33] He later settled in Orange County, New York, where he became muster master general of militia during 1686. In 1687 he was captured and taken to Quebec; from there he eventually escaped, only to be killed in 1691. There is no evidence of any large-scale Scottish emigration to New York at this time, although there is a reference to Scottish farming families settled at Murderer's Creek on the Hudson River in 1700.[34]

During the late seventeenth century, New York developed into a major port although its shipping was increasingly subject to attack from pirates and the French. In order to counter this, the government decided to license privateers because the Royal Navy was too heavily engaged fighting the French elsewhere to provide much help. As privateering was both patriotic and profitable, it soon expanded into a major enterprise that involved merchants, colonial officials, and mariners. The involvement of important figures in New York enabled many of the privateers to diversify into piracy in the knowledge that they would receive official protection. One group of leading merchants, which included Robert Livingstone, established a joint-stock company to finance the privateering vessel the *Adventure Galley.* To captain the ship they appointed a New York shipmaster, William Kidd.[35] Kidd had been born in Dundee in 1654, the son of a mariner, and had settled in New York in 1688 as a shipmaster sailing between London and New York after a period spent as a privateer in the West Indies. Captain Kidd sailed from New York to Madagascar, a mecca for pirates and privateers, where slaves and stolen goods could be obtained, some of them from as far away as the East Indies. Kidd soon crossed the line between legalized piracy and outright piracy and was eventually caught, brought to trial before the High Court of the Admiralty in London in 1701, found guilty of piracy, and hung at Wapping. William Kidd was certainly the most notorious Scottish immigrant in contemporary New York, if not in America.

## *East New Jersey and the Delaware Valley*

Scottish settlement in New Jersey during the late seventeenth century has proved to be of special interest to historians of colonial America. Researchers on both sides of the Atlantic have published books and articles on this particular aspect of Scottish emigration. In Scotland, George Pryde Insh's *Scottish Colonial Schemes* contains much useful material on East New Jersey, and more recently the American Ned Landsman has written *Scotland and its First American Colony, 1683–1765*, a major contribution to this field of study.

Seventeenth-century Scottish settlement in East New Jersey and along the Delaware valley owes much to the activities of William Penn and his Quaker associates. During the 1670s Penn spent some time in the Netherlands and in the Rhineland as a Quaker missionary. While in Rotterdam he lodged in the house of Arent Sonneman, a Quaker who later settled in Scotland. It has been suggested that plans for a Quaker settlement in East New Jersey soon expanded into a major enterprise that involved merchants, colonial officials, and mariners. The involvement of important figures in New York enabled many of the privateers to diversify into piracy in the knowledge that they would receive official protection. One group of leading merchants, which included Robert Livingstone, established a joint-stock company to finance the privateering vessel the *Adventure Galley.* To captain the ship they appointed a New York shipmaster, William Kidd.[35] Kidd had been born in Dundee in 1654, the son of a mariner, and had settled in New York in 1688 as a shipmaster sailing between London and New York after a period spent as a privateer in the West Indies. Captain Kidd sailed from New York to Madagascar, a mecca for pirates and privateers, where slaves and stolen goods could be obtained, some of them from as far away as the East Indies. Kidd soon crossed the line between legalized piracy and outright piracy and was eventually caught, brought to trial before the High Court of the Admiralty in London in 1701, found guilty of piracy, and hung at Wapping. William Kidd was certainly the most notorious Scottish immigrant in contemporary New York, if not in America.

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A list of people who settled in West New Jersey, on the eastern shore of the Delaware River, after 1664 includes three Scots, all of whom were Quakers: William Haig, a London merchant; John Skene from Aberdeen; and Maurice Trent, a merchant from Leith.[37] Penn's direct link with the Delaware arose from his becoming—together with the Scots Quaker Gavin Lawrie, Nicholas Lucas, and Edward Byllinge, an associate of John Fenwick—a joint trustee of the Delaware Colony. Penn wished, however, to establish a colony under the complete and direct control of members of the Society of Friends and so petitioned Charles II for lands adjoining the Delaware and Susquehanna rivers. In 1681 he was made proprietor of land lying between New York and Maryland, and from forty-three degrees north southward to include Newcastle on the Delaware River, an area soon named Pennsylvania. The majority of immigrants in early Pennsylvania were Welsh, Irish, English, and Rhinelander Quakers. There were very few Scots in Pennsylvania or West New Jersey; their main colonizing effort was soon to occur in East New Jersey.

In 1674 New Jersey was, in effect, split in two: Sir George Carteret was sole proprietor of the eastern part, and three Quakers—William Penn, Gavin Lawrie, and Nicholas Lucas—were joint proprietors of the western part. In 1682 Carteret's widow sold East New Jersey to twelve men, mostly Quakers, who in due course increased their number to twenty-four. These proprietors were

Scotsmen or Englishmen of varied backgrounds ranging from the Roman Catholic earl of Perth to the Dutch Quaker Sonneman from East Lothian. Although only six of the proprietors were Scottish, they were given prominence in the November 1683 charter by which Charles II granted East New Jersey to the twenty-four proprietors.

During the reigns of Charles II and his brother James VII Scotland was a land of religious intolerance and persecution, not only of the Presbyterians by the Episcopalians but of the Quakers by both the Presbyterians and Episcopalians. Quakerism in Scotland was then highly localized in areas such as Aberdeenshire, Edinburgh, Kelso, and Hamilton; and many Quakers from those areas took the opportunity to emigrate to American during the 1680s. Immigration to New Jersey, however, was not limited to Quakers; in response to requests from Robert Barclay of Urie, George Scott of Pitlochie, and Robert Gordon of Gordonstoun, a substantial number of Covenanter prisoners and criminals were allocated by the Privy Council "under the penalty of 1,000 merks Scots money for ilk one of them in caice of failzie, sea hazard, mortalitie and pirats being alwise excepted."

Three vessels involved in transporting emigrants from Scotland to East New Jersey between 1683 and 1685 have been positively identified: the *Exchange,* the *Thomas and Benjamin,* and the *Henry and Francis.* A fourth ship, the *America,* is a possibility. The advance party sailed from Leith on the *Exchange of Stockton,* under master James Peacock, on 10 August 1683 via Aberdeen under the leadership of David Barclay the younger of Urie and landed on Staten Island on 19 December 1683. The passengers included key personnel such as the joint overseers John Hampton and John Reid together with their servants and families. The Quakers Hampton and Reid were both gardeners by profession, the latter being the author and publisher of *The Scotch Gardener.* The voyage and cargo were financed by some of the proprietors, including Arent Sonneman, Robert Gordon of Cluny, Gavin Lawrie, William Dockwra (a merchant in London), David Falconer, and David Barclay, at a cost of £973.5.9. Arent Sonneman provided his share largely in the form of commodities that he had purchased in Edinburgh, London, and Holland. By 1684 the settlers had begun to clear the forest, build houses, and buy cattle, horses, and pigs. The overseers and their helpers were indentured servants who, in return for passage to America and their keep, undertook to work for four years, after which date they could purchase twenty-five to thirty acres of land at two pence per acre and would be eligible for a share of that year's crop, animal stock, and immovable assets. The incentive of land grants on the successful completion of a period of indentured service was instrumental in attracting many emigrants; at the same time, fee-paying passengers were encouraged to take servants by the fact that their land grant was increased in proportion to the number of servants imported. On 7 May 1688 the original indentured servants were given land grants; on the list was Peter Watson, who wrote to his cousin John Watson, messenger in Selkirk, from Perth Amboy on 20 August 1684, "Poor men such as myself may live better here than in Scotland if they will but work."[38]

The *Thomas and Benjamin*, under master Thomas Pearson, sailed from Montrose to Perth Amboy with emigrants mainly from Angus and the Mearns, including members of leading local families such as Robert and Thomas Fullerton, Charles Gordon, and David and James Mudie. The *Thomas and Benjamin* sailed by way of the north of Scotland, arrived at Perth Amboy on 5 November 1684, and returned via the Canaries and Madeira, where Pearson purchased wine that he hoped to sell later in a Baltic port.[39]

On 5 September 1685 the *Henry and Francis*, under master Richard Hutton, set sail from Leith for East New Jersey with the main body of emigrants on board under the leadership of George Scott of Pitlochie. The passengers formed a heterogeneous group and included people such as John Johnstone, an Edinburgh apothecary; Archibald Riddell, a Covenanting minister who had been a prisoner on the Bass Rock; John Oliphant, an indentured servant from Pencaitland; and Dr. William Robertson, a Quaker from Burntisland. About a quarter of the passengers, including Scott of Pitlochie, died of disease on the voyage. When the vessel arrived in East New Jersey, the prisoners refused to indent and were supported in this by the New Jersey law courts.

Not all of the early Scottish settlers were delighted by what they found in New Jersey. In March 1685 David Toshach of Monivaird, Perthshire, wrote a letter to the earl of Perth, from whom he had purchased land, complaining that the "campione ground and riverside ar takin up by Quakers, Independents, Presbiterians, Anabaptists, and in a word all of the scourings of hell."[40]

From the beginnings of the colony the proprietors established and developed the port of Perth Amboy. As early as February 1685 Governor Dongan of New York viewed the development with some concern. He considered Perth Amboy a possible threat to New York, the chief port of his colony, and a route that could be used to bypass restrictions and duties imposed at New York. There was also a dispute concerning whether Staten Island was under the jurisdiction of New York or New Jersey. In November 1686 Governor Dongan ordered that any ships lying at Perth Amboy were to be brought to New York, by force if necessary. About the same time proposals were made to integrate the two adjoining colonies to overcome this problem. The policy adopted and action taken by Dongan led the proprietors of East New Jersey to petition the king on 30 May 1687; they stated that Dongan had infringed their liberty by sending soldiers to seize a vessel at Perth Amboy and take it to New York.[41] On 12 July 1687 the proprietors further petitioned the king; among the points raised were their willingness to impose duty at Perth Amboy and their desire to integrate with West New Jersey rather than New York. This desire materialized when the two Jerseys merged into the Crown Colony of New Jersey in 1702. On 14 August 1687 the king ordered Dongan to permit vessels to use Perth Amboy without interference provided duties were collected there. Perth Amboy, therefore, was able to develop as the port of East New Jersey although it did remain a bone of contention between the two colonies.

There is evidence to suggest that the Quakers in Scotland, England, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Barbados were forming social and economic links during the late seventeenth century. One of the most prominent Quaker families in the plantations was the Trent family. It has been suggested that the surname is a corruption of Tranent, a burgh in the Lothians, and it is certainly in that area that the name is found historically and from there that the Quaker Trents sailed. However, it is known that Quakerism came into Scotland with the Cromwellian army of occupation after 1651 and that Maurice Trent, the Quaker merchant of Leith who came to prominence in the 1650s, was described as an Englishman. Another tenuous clue is that the merchant Trents were based in Leith and Inverness, two bastions of parliamentary power in Scotland. In February 1662 the *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland* refers to the shipment to London of a cargo of Barbadian sugar belonging to Maurice Trent, Englishman, merchant in Leith.[42] Since West Indian tobacco was sold in Leith in 1643, there may have been a direct trade route between Leith and Barbados.[43] In 1664 Maurice Trent, merchant in Leith, purchased land in West New Jersey, which had been recently taken from the Dutch. Maurice Trent, however, remained based in Leith, where he died on 25 November 1700.[44] In 1671 Laurence Trent, merchant, and Captain John Guthrie, skipper of the *Ewe and Lamb,* petitioned the Privy Council of Scotland for a license to transport vagabonds to America.[45] A ship of that name was searched at Leith in 1668 because it was believed to have aboard a number of people who had been kidnapped and were being transported against their will. In 1673 Maurice Trent, merchant in Leith, co-owner of the *Hercules,* under master Andrew Malloch, also petitioned for vagabonds for Virginia. The Trents seem to have been engaged in shipping children, some unwillingly, to America. James and Maurice Trent, sons of William Trent in Inverness and nephews of Maurice Trent in Leith, settled in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, before 1681; they imported from Scotland several consignments of children who were sold off as indentured servants in Pennsylvania, particularly in Chester County, during the 1690s.[46] Their more orthodox cargoes included Scottish coal and Virginia tobacco shipped on board their brigantine the *William and Mary of Newcastle,* under master William Wrighton.[47] This vessel was seized in 1694 by the authorities, its owners accused of contravening the Navigation Acts by sailing directly from Philadelphia to Scotland. The most famous of the Trents in the American colonies was the Inverness-born William Trent (1655–1724), who became chief justice of New Jersey and founder of Trenton, later the state capital. This William Trent also had connections with Boston, Massachusetts, where he was admitted to membership in the Scots Charitable Society in 1697. The Trent family was also represented among the Quakers of Barbados, who maintained strong mercantile links with such major American ports as Philadelphia. The leading Trent in Barbados was the merchant Laurence Trent from Newbattle, Midlothian.[48]

After James VII fled into exile in 1688, certain of the pressures in Scotland generating emigration were reduced, notably the religious policy. The level of emigration from Scotland to East New Jersey and elsewhere in America diminished; at the same time a number of Scottish exiles in New Jersey felt it safe to return home. One such was James Armour, a Glasgow merchant who had been taken from Glasgow Tolbooth and transported aboard the *Henry and Francis* to New Jersey in 1685. He became a prominent merchant in New York before moving finally to London.[49]

In August 1700 the *Unicorn*, under master John Anderson, arrived at New York from Darien, and the vessel was abandoned. John Anderson settled in New Jersey, where he was eventually appointed governor.[50] There were a number of merchants and ship masters in the area, including Scots such as Captain Kidd, who were actively engaged in smuggling and piracy. Merchants were engaged in shipping tobacco from New Jersey directly to European destinations in clear defiance of the Navigation Acts; "tobacco, the exportation of which to Scotland or Holland is a chief matter of complaint, does not grow in the Jerseys in sufficient quantities to supply the wants of the produce." Tobacco was also being sent from the Delaware River. A report sent from Pennsylvania on 16 November 1696 stated, "The Acts of Trade are not observed. A plain discovery has been made of nine vessels laden with tobacco which from 1690 to 1695 have gone directly to Scotland. Moreover Gustavus Hamilton, the chief factor for the Scotch merchants, last year carried out of the Delaware three hundred hogsheads of tobacco without clearing. Other vessels from the same place also went to Scotland with tobacco. A brigantine, known by two names, under the charge of William Wrighton and Maurice Trent, imported a number of Scottish goods into Pennsylvania in 1695."[51] James Williams, collector of customs for Pennsylvania, wrote, "In 1695 William Wrighton of *The William and Mary of London* bound to Newcastle, England, with 100 hogsheads of tobacco went directly to Scotland." As he was returning to Burlington, West New Jersey, with forty tons of coal from Scotland, his vessel was seized. Andrew Hamilton, the Scots governor of New Jersey, repudiated Captain Thomas Meade's authority to seize the vessel and accepted the petition of the owner Maurice Trent and the master William Wrighton, who stated that the French had taken the customs clearing document for coal, which had been issued by an English port. A report dated 1700 emphasized the loss of revenue to the Crown caused by illegal exports of tobacco: "The Scotch merchants and others inhabiting that Province [Pennsylvania] used to carry their goods out of Delaware overland to the heads of Sassafras, Bohemia and Elke rivers in Maryland where they purchased tobacco and paid no duty for it, carrying it the same way to Delaware, and shipped it aboard vessels which lay ready to receive it, 40 miles below the Port of Newcastle, which was carried directly to Scotland." In February 1701 Edward Randolph wrote to the Council of Trade and the Plantations in London, "The three lower counties of Newcastle, Kent and Sussex lying in Delaware Bay . . . since Mr Penn's arrival the tobacco made in those counties has risen from 4 or 500 hogs heads last year. The greatest part is shipped off to foreign plantations, Scotch factors being settled there to buy it for that purpose."[52] Scottish merchants were clearly active along the Delaware around 1700 in circumventing the Navigation Acts. "They [the Scots] carry on a constant trade from Curacao hither. About a month ago came a vessel from thence belonging to several Scotch merchants which brought an abundance of linen and other dry goods of the manufacture of Holland and run them all ashore at a place, a little below Newcastle, called Bumbo Hook."

In late-seventeenth-century New Jersey Scottish settlement was concentrated in the north of the colony, particularly in the basically agricultural counties of Monmouth and Middlesex. Those settled along the Delaware seem to have been fewer in number and mainly connected with the tobacco trade.

## The Chesapeake

The Chesapeake region is comprised of two states (colonies in the seventeenth century), Virginia and Maryland. Virginia, the Old Dominion, was founded in 1607; her economic development and early immigration pattern relative to Scotland have already been outlined. Maryland was formed in quite different circumstances. Its founder, George Calvert, was no absentee landlord or armchair colonial developer; he personally reconnoitered the area and aimed to develop the colony, not to generate personal wealth but rather to provide a place where his Roman Catholic co-religionists would experience religious tolerance, a liberty unavailable in other English plantations in America. George Calvert, Lord Baltimore, died in 1632, the year the Maryland Charter was issued, and was succeeded by his son Cecil Calvert. Maryland was established despite the opposition of the Virginia Company and others. Although Calvert considered he was establishing a colony free from bigotry, where Catholic and Protestant could co-exist, King Charles I had the ulterior motive of establishing a colony that would act as a bulwark against any possible Dutch encroachment from the north. Maryland and Virginia together bordered Chesapeake Bay and developed rapidly during the seventeenth century through their tobacco-based economies. The profits generated by that product encouraged settlement by English immigrants, and during the second half of the seventeenth century there was participation, although illegal, by the Scots in the tobacco industry of the Chesapeake.

Relatively few of the Scots among the colonial population of the late seventeenth century had gone as willing immigrants. Rather they were there under duress. As has already been mentioned, Oliver Cromwell dispatched shiploads of Scottish prisoners of war to Virginia around 1650, and to their number must be added the Covenanters deported between 1669 and 1686 directly from Scotland. The names of these banished Scots can be found in the registers of the Privy Council of Scotland of the period, as can petitions from merchants and ship masters offering to convey prisoners to America. For example, as stated earlier, in 1673 Maurice Trent, a merchant of Leith, petitioned for vagabonds to take to Virginia;[53] and on 2 August 1681 Walter Gibson, merchant in Glasgow, "has a ship lying Port Glasgow bound for America and is willing to receive theives or robbers sentenced by the Lords of Justiciary or other judges to be banished thither and all other sorners, lusty beggars or gypsies, and he is willing to find caution to transport them to Virginia, Maryland or the Caribee islands."[54]

Since the Restoration, the Scottish government had followed the English practice of disposing of criminals and undesirables by transporting them to America and selling them to planters as indentured servants. For example, in May 1666 Robert Learmonth, merchant in Edinburgh, took a number of criminals from the Tolbooth of Edinburgh and shipped them from Leith to Virginia aboard his vessel the *Phoenix of Leith,* under master James Gibson. Included were Charles Davidson and James Ogilvy, vagabonds and thieves; Katherine Laird, a thief and whore; and James Shields.[55]

An insight into the workings of a transportation contract is provided in the petition of James Montgomerie, Jr, merchant in Glasgow, who on 14 November 1694 petitioned Edinburgh Town Council for dissolute women then in the Correction House, for shipment from Glasgow to America.[56] Montgomerie asked for twenty to thirty-two people whom he would transport and clothe at thirty shillings sterling each. Soldiers were to guard them on the way to Glasgow at sixpence per day. In return he had to provide certificates of landing subject to a penalty of fifty pounds for each one who escaped after delivery in Glasgow.

Scots (like Angus Sinclair and Thomas Taggart) who contracted to work in Virginia and Maryland for a given period in exchange for passage to the colonies were among the indentured servants shipped to Maryland by Samuel Gibbons on the *Bachelor of Bristol* in 1674.[57] Since the Navigation Acts limited American colonial transatlantic commerce to English ports, it is likely that most Scots emigrated via England. The acts did not, however, include a ban on Scottish indentured servants. Two Scots who possibly went directly from Scotland to Virginia as indentured servants were Harry Grahame of Breckness and James Grahame, who contracted with William Foulis, merchant in Edinburgh, in 1668 for service in

Virginia.[58] On 15 November 1667 the Edinburgh Town Council authorized Patrick Fyffe to recruit people for Virginia or Barbados; they presumably sailed on his vessels the *Good Intent* and the *Ewe and Lamb* from Leith later that month.[59]

Some of the Scots in seventeenth-century Virginia were there only temporarily. Some, like the Reverend Robert Traill in 1682, fled there to avoid religious persecution at home. Others, such as Patrick Fleming and William Murray, went to pursue their careers or fortunes. In March 1662 Patrick Fleming, son of Robert Fleming, burgess and portioner of Kirkintilloch, wrote from Attomacke, Virginia, appointing his kinsman James Fleming of Oxgang his factor in Scotland, stating at the same time his intention to return home in 1663 with a consignment of tobacco.[60] On 20 June 1662 William Murray, merchant traveler in Virginia, subscribed to a marriage contract between himself and Robert Robertson, merchant burgess of Edinburgh, on behalf of Robertson's daughter Margaret. The contract was recorded in Edinburgh's Register of Deeds on 8 January 1663.[61] Robertson was to provide a house on the pier at Leith, which suggests that the couple were to settle there rather than in Virginia although perhaps Murray was to continue to trade with Virginia from Leith. Murray's commercial involvement with Virginia was not clear although one wonders if he was a predecessor of the Glasgow tobacco lords of the eighteenth century. The Edinburgh Marriage Register records the Murray-Robertson marriage there on 8 July 1662.

It is very likely that Scottish merchants and factors became established on the shores of the Chesapeake in the latter half of the seventeenth century. "Before 1700 there were Scottish settlers in Westmoreland and Stafford counties on the Potomac; Scottish interests were dominant in the area where the town of Dumfries grew up; and the town of Alexandria, a little further north, also drew most of its settlers from Scotland."[62] Among those immigrants identified are Abel, James, and Samuel Brown, brothers from Dumfries, who settled in Anne Arundel County, Maryland, before 1665.[63] Others to be found in the probate court records are John Cunningham from Glasgow, probate 16 September 1676 Maryland; William Lowry from Scotland, probate 15 March 1687

Norfolk, Virginia; and James Mackall from Scotland, probate 11 December 1693 Calvert County, Maryland. Occasionally a merchant would arrive in America with a certificate that was a cross between a birth brief and a business reference. For example, Hugh Campbell, merchant burgess of Edinburgh, son of James Campbell, also a merchant burgess of Edinburgh, sailed from Scotland to Bermuda in 1677 with a certificate issued by the magistrates of Edinburgh on 4 May 1677. Although he originally intended to go to the West Indies, he settled in Bermuda and remained there for several years before going on to Norfolk, Virginia, in 1688.[64]

One of the areas in which the Scots made a major contribution to the settlement and development of Virginia was the colonial church. In America the Anglican church was under the jurisdiction of the bishop of London, who, during the seventeenth century, experienced difficulty recruiting sufficient qualified Anglican priests for service in Virginia and elsewhere in colonial America. One solution was to obtain ministers from similar churches outside England, and these were available in Scotland, particularly after 1689 when Presbyterianism replaced Episcopalianism as the established form of church government in Scotland. Even before the exile of King James in 1688 a number of Scottish clergymen had served in Virginia. For example, the Reverend David Lindsay, born in Leith during 1603, son of Sir Jeremy Lindsay, was a minister in Northumberland county during the 1650s; and the Reverend John Munro served as minister at St. John's on the Pamunky River from around 1650. John Munro's two sons, John and Andrew, also became Episcopalian ministers in Virginia; John, Jr, was minister at Hungar parish in 1692 and in St. John's from 1695, both in King William County.[65] His brother Andrew was minister in Newport, Virginia, from 1700 to 1719. Probably the main factor motivating Scots Episcopalian ministers to emigrate to Virginia was the contraction of job opportunities at home, as the Episcopalian church fell into a decline. Many young Scotsmen were appointed by the bishop of London to parishes in Virginia. The Reverend George Robertson, a naval chaplain in 1692, was sent to the parish of Bristol, Dinwiddie County, in 1693 and remained there until 1735; and the Reverend John Carnegie, a graduate of

Glasgow and of Oxford, was appointed minister of St. Mary's, Whitechapel parish, Lancaster County, in 1702.

The most important and influential Scot in late-seventeenth-century Virginia was the Reverend James Blair. Blair had been born at Crombie in 1656, son of Robert Blair, minister of Alva. After being educated at the universities of Aberdeen and Edinburgh, he was parish minister at Cranstoun, near Edinburgh, from 1679 to 1681. In 1685 the bishop of London sent him to Virginia as minister of Henrico parish, and in 1689 he was appointed commissary of Virginia, the highest position in the colonial church. Possibly his most prestigious project was the founding of the College of William and Mary in 1693. Later, Blair was minister at Jamestown from 1694 to 1710, and thereafter at Williamsburg; he died in Virginia in 1743.

In the Aberdeen Burgh Archives there is reference to another Scots Episcopal clergyman in Virginia, the Reverend John Gordon. Gordon evidently found it necessary to send to Aberdeen for a birth brief, which, according to the Aberdeen Propinquity Book, was issued on 6 February 1705. He was the minister of Wilmington parish, James City, Virginia, and was clearly well connected in Aberdeen. Two of his brothers were professors at King's College, his sister was the wife of an Aberdeen baillie, and another brother was rector of a parish in Worcestershire, England. The pre-1707 ecclesiastical records list a number of ministers whose names suggest Scottish origins although this has yet to be established. These include James Wallace in Kecoughtan parish, Charles Anderson in Westover parish, and James Brechin in St. Paul's parish. The link between the Episcopal church in Scotland and that in Virginia was to expand and strengthen during the eighteenth century.[66]

In colonial America there were great opportunities for Scottish schoolmasters and tutors. In Virginia this may have begun with the College of William and Mary, where one of the original masters was Mungo Inglis; an Edinburgh graduate, he was recruited in 1693 and taught until his death in 1719.

Maryland attracted relatively few Scottish immigrants in the seventeenth century. One of the most prominent of the Scots who did settle here was Ninian Bell. Bell, born in Largo, Fife, in 1625, was banished to Barbados in 1650 after being captured by Cromwell at the Battle of Dunbar. He landed in Maryland in 1652 and was employed by Richard Hall, a planter in Calvert County, from 1652 to 1667. By 1670 he had settled in Upper Marlboro, between the Potomac and the Patuxent rivers; in 1717 he died on his estate, Fife's Largo. Under Bell's influence several other Scottish families, including some from Fife, are believed to have settled on the eastern shore of Maryland and Virginia, especially in the counties of Accomac, Dorchester, Somerset, Wicomica, and Worcester.[67]

There is much evidence to show that, despite the Navigation Acts, Scotland was trading directly with Maryland and Virginia before 1707. Such mercantile links led to permanent settlement on coastal sites in Virginia; from there tobacco could be shipped illicitly to Scotland. Sometimes merchant ships with Scottish connections would be seized by the authorities on the grounds that the Scots were not allowed to trade with the colonies. When the *Amity,* under master John Duncan, arrived at Potuxen, Maryland, in April 1699 from Barbados, the vessel was seized on the basis it was Scottish owned.[68] Technically the arrest was correct in that the ship was owned by London-based Scots merchants and John Foulis, the London-born son of a Scot. However, it is likely that the customs collector in Annapolis was being overzealous in his attempt to restrict the tobacco-smuggling activities of the Scots factors and their seafaring associates.

In his report to the commissioner of customs in London on 17 August 1696, Edward Randolph identified a number of reasons for the success of the Scots in bypassing regulations: "The people on the Eastern Shore of Virginia and Maryland and the Delaware River, Scotsmen and others, have great stocks lying by them to purchase tobacco and prepare a loading ready to put aboard any vessel. The master assists to get the goods ashore before the vessel is entered. The vessel lying in some obscure creek 40 or 50 miles from the Collector's office is presently loaded and sails away undisturbed."[69] Randolph also pointed out the fact that Scots used vessels sailing from Berwick or Whitehaven. The affadavit of Thomas Smith, mariner, illustrates methods used by the Scots smugglers: "As to the fact that he navigated a sloop belonging to Governor

Isaac Richier from Bermuda to Maryland and thence to Ireland, by Richier's orders, and thence to Scotland. Depondent knowing the proceedings to be illegal left the ship. The supercargo, John Deveraux, who had a share in the sloop, swore falsely as to his destination when boarded in Ireland and sailed from Greenock apparently with a cargo for France" (1692).[70]

A Customs Committee report dated February 1695 stated that for many years people had been trading directly from the sugar and tobacco plantations to Scotland in violation of the Navigation Acts, and Thomas Meach, formerly employed in the trade, claimed that in 1693 twelve ships had gone directly to Scotland with sugar and tobacco and that eight were then at sea engaged in the trade, particularly tobacco, between Virginia and Glasgow.[71] A report to the Council of Trade and Plantations, dated 11 July 1698, suggested that the Reverend James Blair, commissary of Virginia and president of the College of William and Mary, was involved in the tobacco-smuggling activities of Benjamin Harrison, who had in July 1695 secretly loaded aboard the *Hopewell* on the James River sixty hogsheads of tobacco destined for Scotland.[72]

A number of references to Virginia and Maryland in Scottish records show that links being forged at that time facilitated emigration at a later date. In August 1690 Edinburgh Town Council ordered that ten dollars be given to John Hay and William Fraser to take them to their homes in Thurso. It seems that they had been captured by a French privateer on their way home from Maryland and two hundred pounds worth of goods was taken from them. Whether they were merchants returning home or ship masters engaged in illicit trade is not revealed. Among the Aberdeen burgh records is an entry dated 13 July 1665: "Received from Henry Hay, master of the vessel that lately came from Virginia, for anchorage £1."[73] Lord Rothes wrote to Aberdeen Town Council on 22 August 1668 advising them that Lord Withrington had his vessel *Concordance* lying in Leith Roads bound for Virginia and was willing to take banished persons there. There is no indication that the offer was taken up. In November 1667 Margaret Strachan was convicted in Aberdeen of stealing two saucepans and was banished to Virginia.[74] Possibly she sailed on William Foulis's ship that put into Aberdeen harbor en route for America soon afterward. One woman who did go on that ship was Christine Galloway, "ane wyld adultress and commone theef" who sailed with Foulis for Virginia in January 1668.[75] Another reference to a shipmaster named Foulis sailing to Virginia occurs in a letter from the Reverend Alexander Murray dated 1 February 1665.[76] From the letter, which he wrote from his house on the Ware River, Mockjack Bay, Virginia, to Sir Robert Murray, son of Sir Mungo Murray of Craigie in Perthshire, a founder of the Royal Society, Murray seems to have been Scottish. Some references are marginal; for example, Stirling Burgh Council gave seven shillings "to a poor stranger travelling from Virginia" in September 1698.[77]

The *Eagle of Perth*, built in Leith during 1681 for the citizens of Perth, after a few voyages to Holland was taken by the skipper together with the cargo worth ten thousand pounds "and never returned from Virginia again."[78] The various port books among the Exchequer Records in the Scottish Record Office provide an insight into Scotland's transatlantic trade of the period, trade that ultimately led to settlement.[79] Although the records regrettably are not comprehensive, they do indicate the amount of trade and the ports involved. Ships evidently sailed from Leith, Kirkcaldy, Montrose, Aberdeen, Ayr, and especially Port Glasgow for New England, New York, New Jersey, Virginia, Carolina, Barbados, and the West Indies. The cargoes destined for Virginia included grindstones, pipes, buttons, shoes, salt, and a wide range of textiles and hosiery products, such as linen, thread, woolen cloth, shirts, hats, and gloves. Some of the vessels listed in the port books as going to Virginia are known to have carried emigrants, including the *Ewe and Lamb* in 1667 from Leith. Others, like the *Providence of Piscochine* trading between Port Glasgow and Virginia during 1681 and 1682, may well have carried passengers as well as cargo. On the return voyage from Virginia such vessels would have brought colonial produce, especially Virginia tobacco, thereby laying the foundation of the tobacco trade, the basis of Glasgow's economy during the mid eighteenth century. McUre, writing in 1736, identified many of these pioneer transatlantic merchants in his List of the Sea Adventurers trading to Sundry places in Europe, Africa and America since the year 1668 and his Great Company . . . undertaking trade to Virginia . . . and other colonies in America.[80] The descendants of these early merchants were prominent Scottish and American merchants of the eighteenth century.

## *The Carolinas*

The Province of Carolina was established by Charles II on 24 March 1663. Initially it was divided for administrative purposes into three counties: Albemarle, the northernmost county, adjacent to Albemarle Sound; Clarendon, on the Cape Fear River; and Craven, on the Ashley River. The original county was settled by colonists from Virginia. In 1665 the lords proprietors appointed William Drummond, a Scot, as governor of Albemarle County. Drummond later played a prominent part in Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia and was hanged in 1677. Clarendon County was settled by migrants from Massachusetts; later colonists came from Barbados. The third county, Craven, was settled by English colonists in 1669, among them a Scot, John Carmichael, servant of Joseph Bailey.[81] Although the majority of Scottish emigrants sailed to the Carolinas directly from Scotland, there were some who emigrated by way of England. John Law left via London in 1684.[82]

The migration of Scots to the Carolinas in the 1680s stems directly from the politico-religious persecutions occurring in Scotland around that time. It is no accident that the Scots selected Carolina, given the position of Anthony Ashley Cooper, earl of Shaftesbury, a proprietor of Carolina and English parliamentary champion of the Covenanters. In the House of Lords on 25 March 1679, he decried the persecutions occurring in Scotland under the rule of the earl of Lauderdale. For many Presbyterians, emigration to America, and especially to Carolina, seemed the only option. As early as 1680 an emigrant ship, the *James of Ayr*, sailed for America only to be wrecked off Carolina.[83] In the summer of 1682 Sir George Campbell of Cessnock, Charles Charteris, Sir John Cochrane, and other leading Covenanters began planning and organizing an emigration to Carolina. Earlier that year they

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The voyage to Carolina was entrusted to Walter Gibson, a merchant in Glasgow, who had substantial experience of sailing to the West Indies and North America, carrying out regular, though illicit, trade. As early as August 1681 he had petitioned the Privy Council of Scotland for beggars, vagabonds, and gypsies to transport his vessel from Glasgow to Virginia, Maryland, and the Caribee Islands. In late 1683 or early 1684 Walter Gibson advertised his intention to send a ship from the Clyde to Bermuda, Carolina, New Providence, and the Caribee Islands, with a departure date of 20 February 1684.[87] This voyage predates the emigration of Lord Cardross and his colonists on Walter Gibson's vessel the *Carolina Merchant* from Gourock for Port Royal, Carolina, on 21 July 1684. In his proposals Gibson offered to transport adults to Carolina at five pounds each and two pounds ten shillings per child, and offered emigrants land at a rent of a penny per acre per annum. He also offered to transport, at his own cost, tradesmen if they agreed to indent for three years' service, and other adults for four or five years' indented service. About the same time, in June 1684, Walter Gibson shipped approximately 180 Covenanter prisoners to America on the *Pelican*,[88] and others seem to have sailed from Glasgow to Carolina about that time on the *Eaglesham and Eastwood*.[89] Some of the Covenanters imprisoned in Edinburgh, originally intended to have been transported by Walter Gibson via Glasgow, were instead handed over to Robert Malloch, an Edinburgh merchant, who transported them from Leith to Carolina in August 1684.[90]

The main body of Lord Cardross's settlers sailed on the *Carolina,* passengers and crew numbering 148, including 35 Covenanter prisoners.[91] They reached Charleston on 22 October 1684, some staying there but most settling at Stuart's Town, near Port Royal, at the beginning of November 1684. Another group of Scots Presbyterians who sailed from Belfast to join the Covenanter settlement was lost at sea. The Scots did not receive the level of cooperation they had expected to obtain from the governor and the Grand Council of Carolina, despite their precarious position in relation to the Spanish, whose hostility was manifested in an attack on New Providence in the Bahamas earlier in the year. In September 1686 the colony at Stuart's Town was completely destroyed by the Spaniards from St. Augustine, and the survivors fled to Charleston.[92] Although some Scots may have settled in Charleston, others may have gone north, as indicated by a contract drawn up in Charleston in 1687 between Lord Cardross and John Henderson, master of the *Stephen of London*, for a voyage to Virginia.[93]

The collapse of the Stuart's Town colony marked the end of the attempt to establish an independent Scottish colony in the Carolinas. Thereafter Scottish immigrants settled within the existing English settlements. The failure of another Scots colonial venture, the Darien Scheme, in 1700 resulted in a number of refugees from that colony settling in Carolina. In August 1700 the *Rising Sun,* under Captain James Gibson, and the *Duke of Hamilton,* under Captain Walter Duncan, arrived at Charleston with refugees on their return voyage to Scotland from Darien. While many of the passengers were ashore, a hurricane wrecked the ships and drowned all on board. Most of the survivors seem to have settled in Charleston. The most prominent of these settlers was the Reverend Archibald Stobo.[94] Stobo, an Edinburgh University graduate, had sailed with his family to serve as a minister to the Darien settlers in 1699. He became minister to the Scots in South Carolina, subsequently founding seven churches.

By the early eighteenth century Scottish immigrants were increasingly rising to prominence in Carolina.[95] The Aberdonian John Lawson was appointed surveyor general of North Carolina in 1690, a position he retained until he was killed by the Tuscarora Indians in 1712. William Pollock, another graduate of the University of Edinburgh, settled in North Carolina in 1706 and later became a member of His Majesty's Council of North Carolina. James Kinloch, son of Sir Francis Kinloch of Gilmerton, settled in South Carolina in 1703 and became a leading politician and planter.

## *Barbados*

Barbados was by far the most economically and commercially important colony that England controlled within a chain of settlements established from Hudson Bay to the Caribbean during the seventeenth century. On the whole, the West Indian colonies were the most profitable of all the settlements along the eastern seaboard of mainland North America. In his *Short History of British Expansion* James A. Williamson states that by the late seventeenth century the exports of Barbados totaled £308,000 while exports of the mainland colonies totaled £226,000, a significant achievement for an island the size of the Isle of Wight. Barbados, settled by the English in 1625, was developed as a tobacco-producing economy, but by 1640 tobacco was rapidly replaced by sugar, which became the island's staple crop and a highly profitable export. This conversion of economic base was accompanied by a demographic restructuring as the European population diminished in absolute and relative terms and the African slave population rose commensurately. It is reckoned that the fall in the white male population of Barbados from around eighteen thousand in 1643 to eight thousand in 1666 was partly the result of the migration of surplus population to other colonies, especially the Carolinas, with which Barbados had developed strong economic links.[96]

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The Scottish connection with Barbados dates virtually from its settlement as an English colony. In 1625 a group of Englishmen occupied the uninhabited island of Barbados, acting under the patronage of the earl of Pembroke. But his claim to the island was superseded in 1627 when Charles I granted a proprietary patent for all the Caribees to a Scot, James Hay, earl of Carlisle. Although neither he nor his son James, who inherited the patent in April 1636, ever visited the island, they did appoint Scottish relatives to influential positions on the island. Peter Hay served there as proprietary agent from 1636 to 1641 and thereafter settled as a planter. His kinsman William Powrie, son of Richard Powrie of Dawick, near Edinburgh, was appointed secretary in Barbados during 1640 and latterly was a planter at Spring Plantation where he died before 1663. Peter Hay's correspondence, within the Hay of Haystoun manuscripts,[97] reveals that he did import a small number of indentured servants, but although their origins are not given, their surnames imply that they were English or perhaps Welsh rather than Scots. The fact that Barbadian tobacco was on sale in Leith in the summer of 1643 suggests the possibility of a direct trading link with Barbados.[98]

During the English Civil War Barbados supported the Royalist cause and did not submit to Parliament until 1652, when it received the news of Charles II's defeat at the Battle of Worcester. One result of that battle was the transportation of thousands of prisoners of war, mainly Scots, to the American plantations, including Barbados. Among the Rawlinson Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library is the authority issued in May 1654 to Mr. Parris, a merchant of London, to transport five hundred Scotch prisoners to Barbados.[99] Those soldiers represent the first sizable contingent of Scots to settle in Barbados. Although hundreds of men were transported in this way, no record survives to identify them. Most of such prisoners of war were shipped via English ports, but a few seem to have been sent through Scottish ports. For example, after the failure of the earl of Glencairn's rebellion in support of Charles II in June 1653 sixteen soldiers, presumably Highlanders, were taken from the Tolbooth of Edinburgh for shipment to Barbados to be sold as slaves.[100]

During the Commonwealth, when Scotland had free trade with the English colonies, the authorities took the lead from their English counterparts and banished criminals to Barbados and elsewhere. John Blair and John Younger, two thieves, were transported from Ayr to Barbados in 1653.[101]

The minutes of the Council of Barbados contain a number of petitions from people bearing Scottish names, such as this one on 1 August 1655: "Upon ye petition of Robert Murie. It is odered yt Thomas Megonin master or partner of ye shippe called ye *Guift of Air* due provide and ive convenient entertainment to ye petition while he hath provided a transportation for him home." [102] This Ayr-Barbados connection seems to have been established by mid-century. The Ayr Burgh Records contain an entry dated 26 July 1670 that admits to such a mercantile link from 1658 and implies that it dates back even further: "It is said we have our trade to Barbados and those islands. But it can be made appear that these twelve years past we have had great losses in that trade . . . we have had several ships lost in that island and by the way, and by fire and in the last year a new ship lost, men and goods, except for the master and a boy that were ashore." [103] An analysis of the Customs Book of Ayr, 1666–1692, indicates that an Ayr–West Indian link was intermittently maintained during the period although Barbados itself was not specifically mentioned.[104] On 29 November 1693 the Town Council of Edinburgh granted a warrant to David Ferguson, dean of guild in Ayr, to recruit servants in Edinburgh for Barbados.[105]

During the second half of the seventeenth century Scottish merchants, planters, seamen, transportees, and settlers were to be found throughout the English West Indian colonies, especially Barbados, occasionally on the French and Dutch islands, and latterly, although temporarily, at Darien on the Isthmus of Panama. Overall the position seems to be that the English colonies had an insatiable demand for immigrants that England herself was unable to supply. Disease decimated the European settlers in the Caribbean with great regularity; and although the colonies were, with the indentured servant system, able to attract labor to service their expanding economies, they were unable to retain many of these indentured servants once their periods of servitude had expired. Some returned to England while others went north to Carolina, Virginia, and other mainland colonies. The English colonists also had to maintain a ratio between themselves and their African slaves, which required a pro rata level of white immigration. The English had limited options in obtaining suitable labor because the Spanish, the French, and even the Protestant Dutch were hostile. The only people the English found acceptable were the Scots, a Protestant nation sharing the same king and language. The Scots were also noted for their martial spirit, "the Scotch being the general travaillers and soldiers in most foreign parts,"[106] which was important in an area subject to external enemies, like the Spanish, or internal enemies, such as the Caribs on St. Vincent. From experience, the English had learned to distrust the Irish, who were particularly numerous on Montserrat, because they gave active support to their co-religionists the French and Spanish. The English Privy Council regularly received petitions from the West Indies requesting supplies of Scottish servants.

An analysis of the surviving, albeit incomplete, runs of registers listing servants for the plantations indicates that the majority of Scots at that time went by way of London, presumably a consequence of the Navigation Acts. The most important ports in England engaged in mercantile intercourse with the Americas were London, Liverpool, and Bristol. Between 1654 and 1685 more than 10,000 indentured servants sailed from Bristol to America, particularly Virginia, Maryland, New England, and the West Indies, and of them fewer than 1 percent can be identified as being Scottish.[107] The equivalent records for Liverpool date from 1697, and between then and 1700 only 16 or around 2 percent of 964 bonded passengers can be positively identified as having come from Scotland.[108] On 13 December 1682 the English Privy Council introduced an improved method of registering indentured servants going to the American plantations. In London 1,701 indenture forms survive for the period 1683–86, and of these 1,112 provide the geographical origins of the emigrant: 91.7 percent from England, 2.4 percent from Scotland, 1.3 percent from Wales, 1.1 percent from Ireland, and 3.5 percent from continental Europe.[109]

These figures may be misleading as the surnames of a number of the servants suggest non-English origins despite their London addresses. This may indicate two-stage migration, with the emigrant giving his or her last place of residence, rather than place of birth. In 1,695 cases, the emigrant's destination was clearly stated, and of these 27.5 percent went to Maryland, 22.9 percent to Virginia, 21.8 percent to Jamaica, and 17.3 percent to Barbados. Again, this reveals only where they were landed and not necessarily where they settled. The direction of the flow of these servants was controlled by the direction of the flow of trade, and the relatively high proportion going to the West Indies confirms the importance of that area to the English economy of the period.

It is generally difficult to identify who the Scots were who settled on seventeenth-century Barbados. Some may be found from analyzing the indentureship agreements in the London Records Office, and those who were banished from Scotland can be found in the Register of the Privy Council of Scotland or in jail records such as the Edinburgh Tolbooth Register. The Barbados Probate Office contains testaments of a number of Scots who died in seventeenth-century Barbados, including John Bell from Glasgow, 1654; Angus Lamont from Argyll, 1652; Charles Robertson from Aberdeen, 1697; John Fleming from Leith, 1695; Thomas McAllister from Inverness, 1684. Probably the only such document in Scottish records of the period is the testament of Robert Gilchrist from Duns, a merchant in Barbados, registered with the Commissariat of Edinburgh in 1653.[110] The single most important source that could be used to identify the early Scottish residents of Barbados would probably be the parish registers.[111] Taking 1678–79 as a sample year a number of Scottish surnames were found in the surviving registers. St. Michael's registers contain Scott, Ogilvy, Ferguson, Kennedy, MacQuin, MacKenny, Stewart, Gunn, Innes, Swan, Ramsay, Walker, Rose, Copeland, Elliot, Grant, Frissel, Cunningham, Fogo, Dempster, Campbell, MacRory, MacLaughlin, and MacArtee; the St. James registers contain Cuthbert, Seaton, Affleck, Murray, Bell, Linkletter, Colquhoun, and Spence; and St. John's registers contain Leslie, Keith, and Corbett. The

1680 Inhabitant List of St. Michael's Town has Oglesby, Grant, Corbett, Stuart, Cragg, Fercherson, Taggart, Bayne, and Munro. The 1680 List of Inhabitants of St. Michael's who hired servants or apprentices or who bought slaves includes Ogilvy, Mercer, Stuart, Craig, Farquharson, Taggart, Bowey, Bayne, Munro, and Maxwell; and the 1680 Inhabitants List of Christchurch includes Cammell, Elliot, Frame, Gordon, Henderson, Maxwell, MacGraw, MacDaniel, Scott, Munro, and Strawne.

One of the Scottish ship masters engaged in transporting people from Scotland to Barbados was Captain Edward Burd, a Leith skipper. In the Edinburgh Tolbooth Records an entry dated 22 December 1665 records that prisoners were released for shipment from Leith or Buckhaven to Barbados on Edward Burd's vessel.[112] Although the name of the ship does not appear in the Tolbooth register it was probably the *Margaret of Leith*, 180 tons, 20 guns, with a crew of 70, since a ship of that name and description appears in his petitions of 1667 and 1668.[113] These petitions to the Privy Council of England reveal that Burd and his ship were impressed into English government service while in Barbados, to participate in an attack on the French and the Dutch in the Leeward Islands. Burd and his crew evidently fought valiantly but lost the ship, its cargo of five thousand pounds worth of sugar and tobacco, and sixty crew members. Although Burd claimed recompense in the form of a prize ship, the *Convertin*, then lying in Scottish waters, he does not seem to have been successful in this claim, as the *Convertin* was under the command of a Captain Lightfoot in 1668. This Captain Lightfoot was suspected by the Privy Council of Scotland of kidnapping people and shipping them to America.[114] In 1689 a reference to Edward Burd occurs in the records of the Privy Council of Scotland, where he is described as a prisoner in France.[115]

*The Calendar of State Papers, America and the West Indies* contains numerous entries regarding Barbadian requests for servants from Scotland and a re-introduction of free trade between Barbados and Scotland. For example: "Memo to the Duke of York that he obtains permission that His Majesty's subjects in Scotland who shall be induced to take conditions as planters may not only transport themselves but be allowed to make voyages thither and thence or remain on account of fishing, trade or transporting commodities of the growth and manufacture of His Majesty's territories to Barbados or other plantations" (5 April 1669). This particular petition resulted in the authorization of a voyage to New York in 1669. In March 1670 there is reference to a Dutch ship seized in Barbados for flouting the Navigation Acts pertaining to the degree of English composition of crew members, despite the fact there were sufficient Scots aboard "who had hazarded their lives in the last wars against the Dutch and take it wondrous unkind to be thus debarred the liberty of subjects." In 1673 it was estimated that there were more than twenty-one thousand white inhabitants of Barbados, of whom half were English and the rest Scots, Irish, French, Dutch, and Jews.[116]

Although the presence of Scots in Barbados was generally welcomed, there is evidence to suggest that their position, especially in high government office, was resented in certain quarters. This was a problem experienced elsewhere in the colonies until 1707 and was based on the claim that, since Scotland was an independent kingdom, her citizens could not hold high positions under the Crown of England. This may have arisen through professional jealousy or represent a growing mistrust of the Scots political motives. It must be remembered that Barbados was a Royalist stronghold in midcentury, and support for the Stuarts may have remained among the Scots. The Darien affair also caused some disaffection with Scots at home and abroad and was exploited by Jacobite sympathizers. Many of the Scots in Barbados seem to have been Episcopalians rather than Presbyterians and as such would have favored the House of Stewart over the House of Hanover. George Duncan, a Scot, arrested for sedition in Barbados during 1700, declared, "the Scotch were as good as the English, no subjects of King William, and that there would soon be a change." In 1704 the Scots in Barbados refused to accept the succession proposed after the death of Queen Anne.[117]

## *The West Indies (Excluding Barbados)*

Although the emphasis of Scottish settlement and economic activity in the West Indies during the seventeenth century was on Barbados, there were Scots elsewhere in the Caribbean, specifically in Jamaica and the Lesser Antilles. The Scots were to be found not only on the English islands but also on those under the control of the Dutch. Economic development, and thus settlement, was a direct result of the profits that could be generated through the development of the tobacco and, particularly, the sugar industry.

The imposition of the Navigation Acts put severe restrictions on Scottish involvement in English colonial trade. The Navigation Act of 13 September 1660, reinforced by the Staple Act of 27 July 1663, gave the monopoly of shipping between England and her colonies in Asia, Africa, and America to English-built, English-owned vessels, with crews at least three-quarters of English birth; all commodities shipped to or from the colonies were to go via an English port. The later act allowed certain concessions to Scotland, in that Scottish servants or horses could be transported without restriction, as could Scottish-produced victuals. Probably the first instance of direct Scottish involvement in the West Indies during the reign of Charles II occurred on 25 August 1663, when John Browne, who had a patent for establishing a sugar works in Scotland, received a license permitting him to send four ships annually to trade with the king's lands in Asia, Africa, or America, provided the ships returned directly to Scotland or England. Some of the Scots in the Caribbean around that time may have emigrated by way of Browne's ships, but there is no indication of how many Scottish settlers were to be found in the Dutch islands. It may be that there were no such trading restrictions with the Dutch settlements as there were with the English colonies. Another possibility may be that Scots who had settled in the Netherlands later emigrated to the Dutch possessions in the Caribbean, as had happened a generation earlier in what is now New York. However, it is a fact that when the English forces invaded the Dutch islands of Saba and St. Eustatia in 1665 they found 125 settlers from England, Scotland, Ireland, and France. The nearby island of Montserrat evidently had a Scottish presence by 1668 since an act was passed on 27 November 1668 by the Council and Assembly of Montserrat "against opprobrious language between the English, Scotch and Irish."[118] In the Ayr Customs Books Montserrat appears prominently among the places in America with which Ayr had direct trading links during the period 1672–82.[119]

By 1670 the contribution that the Scots could make toward the development of the English plantations in the West Indies was appreciated at the highest echelons of government. In October 1670 Nicholas Blake wrote to Charles II from Barbados with reference to St. Lucia: "His Majesty would not do amiss to suffer the Scots to come this way, who have been the chief instrument of bringing Barbados to its perfection, and in two years would bring thousands of hardy people." A month earlier a letter had been received from Jamaica "that all prudential means be used to encourage the Scots to come hither, as being very good servants, and to prevent them going to Poland and other nations."[120] In that same year the Privy Council of Scotland granted two warrants for the transportation of vagabonds from Scotland to the Caribee Islands and Barbados; George Maxwell of Newark received a warrant to ship vagabonds from the Clyde in June 1670; and John Anderson and Archibald Scott, merchants of Glasgow, received a similar warrant permitting them to transport vagabonds on their ship the *Glasgow,* under Captain George Dredan, in December 1670.[121] Some of those sent on the *Glasgow* seem to have been Covenanters rather than vagabonds. The religious policies of Charles II and later his brother James led to direct conflict with the more militant Presbyterians in Scotland, the Covenanters. They resented and eventually rebelled against the attempts of the king to force them to adopt Episcopalianism in Scotland. Subsequently hundreds of Covenanters were banished to the plantations in America, including the West Indies. These deportees represented the second major group to "emigrate" from Scotland to the Caribbean during the seventeenth century. The Covenanters were deported in increasing numbers over a twenty-year period up to 1685. One of the most prominent individuals engaged in this trade was John Ewing, a merchant of London who, as factor for Sir Philip Howard, governor of Jamaica, was actively securing Covenanters and other prisoners from the tolbooths of Edinburgh and Canongate for shipment to Jamaica during the summer of 1685. Many of these men had taken part in the earl of Argyll's unsuccessful rebellion earlier that year and originated from Argyllshire. Donald McVicar from Inveraray and John Martin from Kintyre, prisoners in the Laigh Parliament House, Edinburgh, were two such.[122] According to a letter written by one of the transportees, William Marshall, an Edinburgh smith who had been stigmatized and banished, the voyage from Leith to Jamaica took twelve weeks, and on arrival the prisoners were sold in Port Royal by Sir Philip Howard to local merchants and planters for fifteen pounds each and were indentured for four to seven years. These transportees do not seem to have been used as slaves but rather as overseers of Negro slaves.[123]

The next contingent of Scots to settle in Jamaica arrived as a consequence of the failure of the Darien Scheme. On 20 October 1699, a letter from Jamaica stated, "The Caledonia settlement is quite deserted, the last recruits sent thither from Scotland being disposed and most of the planters gone to Jamaica with their best frigate the *St Andrew.*" Three days later Governor William Beeston of Jamaica wrote to the Council of Trade and Plantations in London, "The Scotch that came from Caledonia are so many dead that at last they are forced to lay up the *St Andrew* for want of men to carry her away." [124] One of those who settled in Jamaica at that time was John Campbell, born in Inveraray in 1674. Campbell became a prosperous merchant and planter in St. Elizabeth's parish, and also a militia officer and member of the Council of Jamaica. He died on 29 January 1740 and was buried at Black River Church.[125]

In 1703 it was proposed that Queen Anne authorize the emigration of two or three thousand Scots to Jamaica at government expense and their settlement along its east coast from Port Morant to the Rio Grande. There is, however, no indication of such large-scale emigration taking place although the emigration of individual Scots to Jamaica continued to increase. In Jamaica there was an escalation of the level of complaints and criticism of the regulations discriminating against non-English colonists. On 20 November the absurdity was pointed out of having Scots, Dutch, and French serving in the militia, as they had done for twenty years with satisfaction, while they were illegal under the Quartering Act.[126]

By around 1680 the Scots were actively considering the possibility of establishing their own colony or plantation in America, particularly in the Caribbean region. On 8 February 1681 the Privy Council of Scotland considered a "memorial concerning the Scottish plantation to be erected in some place in America."[127] Among the locations identified for possible settlement were the islands lying off the coast of present-day Venezuela from Aruba to Trinidad, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Jamaica, Florida, and the Bahamas. The hostility of the Spanish there posed problems for settlement although a Scottish presence on Jamaica would probably have been welcomed by the English. The committee set up to consider these proposals decided to raise the necessary finance, to send a representative to reconnoiter the locations, and to ask the advice of William Colquhoun, a resident of Glasgow who had made a fortune during twenty years spent as a planter in the West Indies. The committee described the area as "where many Scotts gentlemen of qualitie and present planters there do reside" and wished to establish whether they would be prepared to settle in a "Scotts plantatione for which they have longed these many yeirs." Later that year the opinion was that a site in northern Florida beyond Spanish jurisdiction would be best, and it was noted that a patent had been drawn up in September 1679 without the Royal Seal. This may refer to proposals of 1678 regarding St. Vincent. Among the documentary collection of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland is a manuscript setting out the arguments in favor of a Scottish colony on the island of St. Vincent. It refers to John Browne, earlier noted in connection with the sugar industry, who it recommended should be given a patent for the island. Between five hundred and one thousand settlers were to be sent depending on whether the island was to be purchased from the indigenous inhabitants or conquered. Each settler was to receive a land grant in proportion to the size of his family and the number of servants he brought with him. Although the proposals appear in some detail on the document, there is no indication that they received the Royal Assent or were taken up.[128]

During the seventeenth century there were Scots not only in Barbados and Jamaica but also elsewhere in the West Indies. There is even evidence of an individual who proposed to settle within an area of Spanish settlement; Robert Christie, a merchant from Culross, wrote from Florida in August 1667 of his intention to go to Mexico.[129]

Probably the most prominent merchant of Glasgow engaged in trading with America and the West Indies at that time was Walter Gibson, eldest son of John Gibson of Overnewton. He appears on McUre's List of the Sea Adventurers trading to sundry places in Europe, Africa and America since the year 1668 and is described as having traded with France, Spain, Norway, Sweden, and Virginia. Later he is listed as a member of "The Company [of Glasgow] trading to Virginia, Caribee Islands, Barbados, New England, St Kitts, Montserrat and other colonies in America." He is believed to have gone for sugar to the West Indian island of Nevis in the Leeward Islands.[130] When one recalls the practice of merchant houses of sending a factor, often a relative of one of the partners, to a plantation in order to manage that end of the business, it is interesting to note a reference to a Mr. Gibson, a planter on Nevis in 1683.[131] Although information is minimal, there is evidence of a Scottish presence on Nevis during the latter half of the seventeenth century. John Rait from Inverkeillor, Angus, died there in 1675,[132] and a Rev. Morison, possibly from Montrose, was a clergyman there around 1700.[133] Nevis, in common with the other West Indian islands, traded with the English settlements along the coast of North America. One such mercantile transaction identifies a resident of Nevis with a Scottish name. An entry in the *Isle of Wight County, Virginia, Will and Deed Book, Volume 1*, folio 573, records the appointment by William Woodrupp, merchant in Nevis, of John Blackwood as his attorney to sue for debts in Virginia on 10 July 1675. An earlier entry, dated 1 January 1675, identifies Woodrupp as being connected with James Lockhart, a merchant in Glasgow. The Woodrops appear as burgesses and guild brethren of Glasgow throughout the seventeenth century and later.

The situation may have been similar in the other West Indian colonies during the late seventeenth century, but the absence of data leaves this in the field of conjecture. A limited amount of evidence survives, however, and from it some Scots in the Caribbean can be identified: on Antigua, William Haig,[134] born in Berwickshire in 1670, a merchant, and Daniel McKinnon (1658–1720),[135] a physician there from 1696; on Curaçao, John Moir from Aberdeen,[136] who settled there in 1700; and on St. Kitts, Richard Grant,[137] who immigrated there from Edinburgh via Bristol around 1660, and Robert Cunningham,[138] born in Ayrshire during 1669, a former army officer who settled there in 1687. The importance of the American and West Indian sugar and tobacco to the economy of Glasgow and thus to Scotland can be measured by the fact that the merchants and the burgh council actively encouraged skilled artisans with relevant experience to settle in the city. Among those recruited were German and Dutch sugar boilers,[139] also shipmasters. In 1695 Captain Nathaniel Davies, who had voyaged to Africa and America, was given the privilege of becoming a burgess and guild brother provided he and his family settled permanently in Glasgow.

By the mid 1690s, encouraged by William Paterson, a Scottish merchant and entrepreneur who had spent several years in the West Indies, Scots were again inclined to establish an independent colony. The proposed location was Darien on the Isthmus of Panama. The objective was to establish a colony to command the trade of the Pacific and Atlantic oceans. In June 1695 the Scottish Parliament passed an act that established the Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies. The project was opposed, however, by vested interests in England, especially the East India Company, which considered its own monopolies and enterprises threatened. Mercantile opponents were joined by the English government, which believed that the proposal to establish a colony well within an area traditionally under Spanish influence was a possible threat to the negotiations then occurring between England and Spain. It therefore ensured that the Scots received no financial aid from England, Holland, or Hamburg and instructed the governors of its American colonies to ensure that no assistance was provided to the venture of the Company of Scotland. Nevertheless, the Scots continued to pursue their aim of forming a colony in the Americas. In July 1698 the first expedition set out from Leith. Five ships—*Unicorn, St. Andrew, Caledonia, Endeavour,* and *Dolphin*—carried fifteen hundred emigrants, men, women and children, destined for the new colony. In little over six months after landing at Darien half the colonists were dead from disease. The threat of an imminent Spanish attack led to the remaining colonists' abandoning the settlements at Darien in favor of Jamaica in June 1699. Meanwhile, a second expedition had sailed from the Clyde in September 1699 with thirteen hundred emigrants on board *Rising Sun, Hope, Hope of Bo'ness,* and *Duke of Hamilton,* which duly arrived at the now-deserted Darien in December 1699. In February 1700 Spanish land forces attacked the Scottish settlement, and Spanish ships blockaded the harbor. By March the Scots position was hopeless; weakened by disease and facing overwhelming odds, the Scots capitulated. Under the terms of surrender the surviving Scots were freely permitted to abandon the colony; and on 12 April 1700 *Rising Sun, Hope,* and *Duke of Hamilton* sailed for Jamaica en route for Scotland. This was a destination that none of the ships and very few of the passengers ever reached. The *Hope* was wrecked off Cuba in August 1700, and *Rising Sun* and *Duke of Hamilton* were sunk by a hurricane at Charleston, South Carolina, later that month.[140]

Although approximately twenty-six hundred emigrants sailed from Scotland with the aim of settling at Darien, very little information, apart from a number of testaments, survives to identify them. This contrasts with the very comprehensive lists of original shareholders, which reveal that the company's capital was provided from a wide range of sources all over Scotland; nobility, landowners, merchants, craftsmen, professional people, town councils, merchant guilds, and trade corporations contributed.

On 12 March 1698 the Company of Scotland advertised for prospective emigrants. In the event the vast majority went as servants indentured for three years, during which time the company undertook to maintain them; thereafter they would be allocated land in Darien. The company was swamped with applications and selected twelve hundred men with the skills considered necessary to form a colony. Many of the applicants were discharged soldiers who had fought in Flanders but who had become redundant after the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697. From their number, sixty former officers and an undisclosed number of men were chosen. Included were David Moncrieff, formerly an ensign in the earl of Tullibardine's Regiment of Foot; Thomas Hope, second son of Sir Alexander Hope of Kerss, formerly an ensign in Lord Lindsay's Regiment; and Alexander Ferguson, formerly an ensign in Colonel Buchan's Regiment. It also selected men with vital economic skills: Thomas Grant, an Edinburgh butcher; Alexander Hamilton, an Edinburgh merchant; Peter Laurie, a cooper; Christopher Laurie, a carpenter; John Liddell, a clerk; John MacFie, burgess of Rothesay, a piper and musician; Hector McKenzie, a surgeon; Robert Schoalla, an Orkney joiner;[141] and Alexander Shields, a minister.[142]

The failure of the Darien colony was not a complete disaster for Scottish settlement in the New World. A considerable number of the survivors seem to have settled elsewhere in America, especially in Jamaica, South Carolina, New York, and possibly New England; for example, John Campbell settled in Jamaica, Archibald Stobo in Charleston, John Anderson in New Jersey, and John Lothian in Boston.[143]

# CHAPTER THREE

# *Transatlantic Opportunities*

## *(1707–63)*

### *The Northern Colonies*

Scottish emigration to and settlement in New England and what is now Canada was spasmodic and small scale during this period. Most settlement was occurring within the colonies lying to the south, which were being developed by immigrants attracted by the availability of land. In New England the land already was overcrowded, and most of Canada was a French possession.

Within the northern colonies, the major port of entry for immigrants and the magnet for most Scots who went to that region was Boston, Massachusetts. From the mid seventeenth century onward Boston and its neighborhood contained a number of Scots, many of whom had arrived there as prisoners of war from Cromwell's England. The names of some of these early Scots in New England and in Boston in particular can be found in the records of the Scots Charitable Society, which was established in Boston in 1657. From the date of its inception the society has maintained a register of members, often mentioning their places of origin. Between 1707 and 1763 the Scots Charitable Society of Boston, "being Scottsmen and the sons of Scottsmen, inhabitants of Boston and the colony thairof," admitted 798 new members. Of these, 373 identified their places of origin in Scotland: 187 from Strathclyde, 47 from Lothian, 32 from Orkney and Shetland, 27 from Tayside, 21 from Grampian, 18 from Highland, 15 from Fife, 11 from Dumfries and Galloway, 9 from Central, and 6 from the Borders.

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Eleven came from other American colonies, 1 from the Canary Islands, 3 from London, 1 from the Isle of Man, 1 from Ulster, 10 from New England, and the rest of unstated origins. Boston, being by far the most important port and city in New England, attracted a number of Scottish merchants, such as John Traill and his nephew Robert Traill from Orkney, Alan Melville from Fife, James Yule from Strathaven, William Corbett the son of a Glasgow baxter burgess, and Quintin McColm from Maybole.[1] At the same time a number of New England residents, most of whom bore Scots names, were admitted into the ranks of the burgesses of major Scottish towns; for example, Glasgow admitted David Buckline and James Watson, shipmasters, in 1713 and 1721 respectively, and David Melville and John Frissell, Boston merchants, in 1716 and 1717 respectively.[2] Among the skilled professionals who arrived from Scotland were physicians: George Stewart came to Boston in 1711; Ebenezer Muirhead to Providence, Rhode Island, in 1754; and Alexander Renton of Greenhill, a Largs surveyor, to Boston by 1728.[3] Scottish clergymen of different persuasions were also to be found then in New England. Among the Scots Episcopalians who were appointed by the bishop of London to serve in New England were men such as George Murison and James Honeyman.[4] Rev. George Murison, a graduate of King's College, Aberdeen, went initially to New York as a schoolmaster in 1703 before being ordained in 1705 and working as a missionary for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New York and Connecticut. He died in Connecticut in 1708. Rev. James Honeyman, a graduate of Marischal College, Aberdeen, was sent to America as a missionary in 1704. He founded the first Anglican church in Newport, Rhode Island. The large-scale emigration to New England of Ulster Presbyterians from 1718 on led to a demand for Presbyterian clergymen, and among those going to serve in New England communities were Scots ministers such as Robert Abercrombie from Edinburgh, who worked in Pelham from 1744 to 1755.[5]

As far as can be ascertained, the majority of Scots who went to New England settled in the vicinity of Boston, and a number of Scots spread throughout the colonies of Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island. There is no evidence of any large-scale Scottish emigration to or settlement in New England: rather, there was a continuous trickle of emigrants from Scotland. In 1712 five passengers arrived in Boston from Glasgow aboard the brig *Success,* and three arrived in Boston from Glasgow aboard the *Expedition.*[6] Thirteen indentured servants arrived in Boston on the snow *Amity* from Glasgow in 1716.[7]

There is, however, substantial evidence of large-scale emigration to New England from Ulster from 1718 on. The majority of these people, although born in Ireland, were of Scottish origin and were solidly Presbyterian in religion. Not surprisingly a number of Scottish-born people who had initially settled in Ulster were to be found living in the Scotch-Irish communities of Londonderry, New Hampshire, and elsewhere in New England. These included William Adams, who was born in Argyll in 1689 and had emigrated via Ulster to New Hampshire, and James Gregg, born in Ayrshire in 1690, who moved from County Antrim to Londonderry, New Hampshire, in 1718. Some Ulster Scots emigrated under the leadership of their ministers; for example, the Reverend James Woodside led one hundred people from Londonderry to Casco Bay, Maine, in 1718.[8] The Reverend John Graham, a native of Edinburgh and graduate of Glasgow University, left Londonderry in 1718 for New England, where he worked as a minister in New Hampshire and Connecticut until his death in 1774.[9]

Relatively few Scots seem to have gone to New England as indentured servants at that time. One of the few identified as such was John Shand, who in 1725 sailed from his native Aberdeen as a servant to Robert Cumming, a merchant in Boston who himself may have come from Aberdeen. When John Shand had served his period of indenture, he sailed to Jamaica, with which Boston had strong trading links. There he worked as a plantation overseer, then returned to Boston, where he died in 1738.[10] Intercolony mobility, particularly by sea, was a striking feature of the colonial era, a fact which makes many emigrants difficult to track down. Another highly mobile emigrant was Hugh Ross, a former Edinburgh lawyer who was employed as chief clerk by the Scottish Indian and African Company at its colony at Darien; after the collapse of the colony he made his way to New England, where he died around 1708.[11]

The level of Scottish participation in the upper echelons of colonial society, evident elsewhere in contemporary America, especially in Virginia, was conspicuously absent in New England. In the other colonies the most influential churches were those of the Anglicans and the Presbyterians, with which the Scots had traditional links; but in New England the dominant church was the Congregationalist, which, though Calvinist, differed theologically and organizationally from the Presbyterian church. Thus the Scots lacked the support of the church that aided them elsewhere. The coming of the Scotch-Irish and the Presbyterian church was initially welcomed by the New England establishment, but this attitude later turned to active hostility and intolerance—possibly a factor discouraging Scottish settlement in early-eighteenth-century New England. Another reason the Scots did not achieve prominence could have been the fact that society had been longer established there, and the Puritan emphasis on education eliminated the educational advantages of most Scottish immigrants. However, there were a few Scots or people of Scottish origin holding high public office, including Robert Auchmuty and John Menzies, judges of the Court of the Admiralty, and John Hamilton, the postmaster general.[12] Scottish settlement in New England during the period 1707–63 was relatively small scale when compared to the numbers that immigrated to the colonies lying to the south. The only indication of any localization of Scots settlement in New England lies in the records of the Scots Charitable Society of Boston, but members of the society were either temporary settlers or quickly integrated with the local community.

The Treaty of Utrecht, which in 1713 finally ended the War of the Spanish Succession, contained clauses under which France acknowledged British claims to Rupert's Land, Newfoundland, and Nova Scotia. From that time those territories were available for settlement by the Scots and others, but immigration was minimal. The only way to settle in Rupert's Land was through service in the Hudson's Bay Company. A high proportion of those who did settle there were recruited in the Orkney Islands. As early as 1708 the governor of the company wrote to its agent in Stromness, Orkney, Mr. Grimsay, instructing him to engage twelve to fourteen young Orcadians for service at Hudson Bay.[13] The shipmasters of the Hudson Bay Company vessels would also recruit locally at Stromness, their last port of call before making the Atlantic crossing. William Tomison, a native of South Ronaldsay, was recruited in 1760 and eventually rose to the rank of chief factor; and William Stuart worked for the company from 1691 until his death at York Fort during 1719.[14] Newfoundland seems to have attracted very few, if any, Scots immigrants during the early eighteenth century. Elsewhere trade often led to eventual settlement, but there is little evidence of trade, and none of migration, from Scotland to Newfoundland. One of the few indications of mercantile links was the voyage of the *Christian of Leith* under the Edinburgh merchant-skipper Edward Burd in 1726.[15] Probably the only Scottish clergymen to serve in Newfoundland were sent by the bishop of London. Robert Kilpatrick went to Trinity Bay in 1730 and died there in 1741, and William Fotheringham was sent to work as a missionary at Trinity Bay in 1762 but died the following summer at St. John's.[16] Similarly Nova Scotia, which as early as 1706 had been proposed as a Scots colony by the Boston merchant Hugh Campbell,[17] attracted few Scottish immigrants until the end of the Seven Years' War.

Quebec under French rule was home to a handful of Scots. In October 1715 the Notre Dame register in Montreal recorded the baptism of Mary Catherine, daughter of John Reid, Scotsman.[18] Such examples, however, are few and far between, and Scottish settlement can be said to have commenced only after the Conquest of Canada. The first resident of Quebec to become a burgess of Edinburgh was a Stephen Muir, who was admitted in 1763.[19] However, it was the disbandment of the Fraser Highlanders in Quebec in 1762 that first established a sizable Scottish community in that province. The majority of these men were allocated land in the vicinity of Murray Bay; officers such as Captain John Nairn and Lieutenant Malcolm Fraser received 3,000 and 2,000 acres respectively while noncommissioned officers like Sergeant James Thompson received 250 acres.[20]

It is evident that, although a few Scots settled in Canada during the early eighteenth century, the vast majority of their compatriots chose to settle in the colonies lying from New York to Jamaica. Scottish settlement of any consequence began only in the aftermath of the military conquest of the country around 1760, but from such a beginning the Scots became the third largest ethnic group.

## *The Middle Colonies*

The Middle Colonies—Pennsylvania, Delaware, New York, and New Jersey—contained two of British America's leading ports of entry for immigrants of the eighteenth century, namely Philadelphia and New York. To the north lay Boston, which controlled the New England traffic, and to the south, though beyond the Chesapeake, lay Charleston, which controlled the shipping of Georgia and the Carolinas. The Middle Colonies therefore had half the major ports through which immigrants entered America. While New York attracted immigrants who intended to settle in the Hudson valley and in adjacent parts of Connecticut and New Jersey, Philadelphia attracted immigrants who, in addition to settling in Pennsylvania and in Delaware, followed the Great Wagon Road southward to settle in inland Maryland, Virginia, and the piedmont of the Carolinas. Throughout the eighteenth century Philadelphia expanded as a major port in spite of the rise of Baltimore from 1750, and by 1776 it had become the largest English-speaking city outside the British Isles. Both New York and Philadelphia attracted Scottish immigrants, some of whom settled locally while others moved to the western and southern frontiers. As far as can be ascertained, more Scots entered America via Philadelphia than New York.

As usual, many of the Scots went as indentured servants. Some can be identified through their indentureship agreements at the London Guildhall Record Office. Examples are William Rhind, aged eighteen, from Prestonpans, who sailed for Pennsylvania during 1731; Alexander Farquhar, aged fifteen, from Edinburgh, who sailed to Pennsylvania in 1728; and David McKenzie, from Auldearn, who went to New York during 1754.[21] Not all indentured

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## *The Middle Colonies*

The Middle Colonies—Pennsylvania, Delaware, New York, and New Jersey—contained two of British America's leading ports of entry for immigrants of the eighteenth century, namely Philadelphia and New York. To the north lay Boston, which controlled the New England traffic, and to the south, though beyond the Chesapeake, lay Charleston, which controlled the shipping of Georgia and the Carolinas. The Middle Colonies therefore had half the major ports through which immigrants entered America. While New York attracted immigrants who intended to settle in the Hudson valley and in adjacent parts of Connecticut and New Jersey, Philadelphia attracted immigrants who, in addition to settling in Pennsylvania and in Delaware, followed the Great Wagon Road southward to settle in inland Maryland, Virginia, and the piedmont of the Carolinas. Throughout the eighteenth century Philadelphia expanded as a major port in spite of the rise of Baltimore from 1750, and by 1776 it had become the largest English-speaking city outside the British Isles. Both New York and Philadelphia attracted Scottish immigrants, some of whom settled locally while others moved to the western and southern frontiers. As far as can be ascertained, more Scots entered America via Philadelphia than New York.

As usual, many of the Scots went as indentured servants. Some can be identified through their indentureship agreements at the London Guildhall Record Office. Examples are William Rhind, aged eighteen, from Prestonpans, who sailed for Pennsylvania during 1731; Alexander Farquhar, aged fifteen, from Edinburgh, who sailed to Pennsylvania in 1728; and David McKenzie, from Auldearn, who went to New York during 1754.[21] Not all indentured servants fulfilled the terms of their contracts, some absconding from their master's service. Many runaways were sought through the American press, and from such notices a number of Scots can be identified. *The American Weekly Mercury* of 1 June 1732 contains an advertisement for John McKenzie, a thirty-year-old Scot, a former soldier in Flanders who spoke Dutch and French, a runaway indentured servant of Peter Cuff in Philadelphia, and *The New York Mercury* of 5 July 1762 cites Margaret Smith, born in Irvine in 1736, a runaway servant of Gilbert Shearer, who had absconded on 22 June 1762. Some servants evidently jumped ship in America before they had been assigned to a master; for example, *Zenger's New York Weekly Journal* dated 29 June 1741 contained a notice that a Francis Ray, born in Scotland in 1723, had absconded from the snow *Elizabeth of Aberdeen*. Although incomplete, certain records referring to the registration of indentured servants in America have survived. These exist for Philadelphia in 1745. The majority of servants listed came from Ireland, but a few are Scots. For example, Agnes Mein was a servant brought from Scotland on the *Anne* galley, under Captain Houstoun, and assigned to William Miller, Chester County, to serve for five years from 20 September 1745. Not all of the immigrants who arrived from Scotland were Scots; an East Indian named Anthony Adams was also landed from the *Anne*.[22]

Although specific data on most individual immigrants are usually hard to locate, information on clergymen is often available because of their prominence in contemporary American society. As the national origins of the American people became more diverse, the range of religious denominations grew. In the Middle Colonies the Church of England was rivaled by Quakers, Moravians, Lutherans, Dutch Reformed, Congregationalists, and Presbyterians, the Scots and the Scotch-Irish being especially identified with the latter. Among the Anglican clergy there were Scots Episcopalians such as William Andrews, a missionary in New York from 1700 to 1718; Thomas Barclay, a graduate of St. Andrews University, rector of St. Peter's, Albany, from 1709 to 1734; and William Smith, an Aberdeen graduate and a clergyman in Philadelphia from 1754 to 1803. William Currie, an Edinburgh graduate, had a varied career. He was a tutor in Virginia, a Presbyterian minister in Newcastle, Delaware, around 1734, and an Anglican clergyman in Pennsylvania.[23] Religious schism within the Church of Scotland was soon reflected within Presbyterian congregations in America. Early Presbyterian ministers in the Middle Colonies included George MacNish, a Glasgow graduate, minister of Jamaica, New York, from 1710 to 1722, and John Bradner, an Edinburgh graduate, minister of Cape May, New Jersey, and later in Orange County, New York, from 1715 to 1733.[24] As early as 1709 the Presbyterian inhabitants of Newcastle, Pennsylvania, had petitioned the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland for a minister.[25] John Cuthbertson was the first Reformed Presbyterian missionary to go from Scotland to America. He landed at Newcastle, Delaware, on 5 August 1751 and from then until his death in 1791 administered to a scattered flock, mainly Scots and Scotch-Irish, throughout the Middle Colonies from his home in Middle Octorora, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania.[26] He was later joined by other Scottish Reformed Presbyterian clergymen including Alexander Gellatly, missionary in Pennsylvania from 1753 until his death in Philadelphia in 1761, and James Proudfit from Perthshire, who immigrated to the Middle Colonies via Boston in 1754, a minister in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, and later in Salem, New York. Archibald Laidlie from Kelso, an Edinburgh graduate, was a Dutch Reformed minister in the Netherlands and later in New York from 1734 to 1776. Clement Hislop, a Scots Franciscan priest, served in Pennsylvania from 1708. Scots were also among the Moravian clergy; John Leighton from Dundee was a Moravian preacher and teacher until his death in 1756 in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, and David Bruce from Edinburgh was a Moravian missionary throughout the Middle Colonies from 1740 to 1749.[27]

In East New Jersey Scots had become well entrenched during the late seventeenth century, and later they were highly visible on the northern frontiers of New York. Elsewhere, the Scots immigrants very often were assimilated by the numerically superior English or Scotch-Irish settlers and thus have become more difficult to identify.

In New York and in Philadelphia, St. Andrews Societies were established for Scots or the sons of Scots. The St. Andrews Society of Philadelphia was founded in 1749 by twenty-six prominent Scottish residents of that city, including Dr. Thomas Graeme, Colonel James Burd, Dr. Adam Thomson, the lawyer Alexander Stedman, and merchants such as John Inglis and William McIlwainle.[28] In New York a St. Andrews Society was formed on a similar basis. Early members included such prominent Scottish residents of the city as Edward Graham, a merchant; the publisher Samuel Loudoun; and Archibald Kennedy, a colonial administrator.[29]

The only known exception to the general rule that Scots immigrants arrived in the Middle Colonies as individuals or as family groups occurred in the 1730s. Evidently pressures in favor of Highland immigration were in operation around that time. In 1734 the governor of New York invited Protestants from Europe to settle on the northern frontiers of the province, where they would be allocated land. Captain Lachlan Campbell subsequently brought several shiploads of Highlanders, 423 in all, from his native Islay to settle in New York in 1738, 1739, 1740, and 1742. However, despite Campbell's petitions, the assurances of land grants were unfulfilled. Some of the Highlanders returned to Scotland, some settled in New York, others dispersed to other colonies, and a few enlisted in the military expedition to Cuba. In 1763 and 1764 the Argyle Patent finally allocated land in Washington County to surviving immigrants and their descendants.[30] In addition, Highlanders discharged from the Seventy-seventh Regiment, which had served in America, were settled nearby beginning in October 1763. The first Highland regiments in America were the Forty-second (Black Watch), the Seventy-eighth (Fraser's Highlanders), and the Seventy-seventh (Montgomery's Highlanders), which were sent to fight in the French and Indian War (1756–63). Those soldiers who returned to the Scottish Highlands generated an enthusiasm for immigration to America. Sergeant William Sutherland of the Seventh-seventh Regiment was among those who settled in New York when allocated land near Fort Ticonderoga, Charlotte County.[31] The practice of settling demobilized soldiers on potentially troublesome frontiers had been used by the British government before. The three thousand former British soldiers had been settled at Halifax, Nova Scotia, in 1749 after the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748), and thousands of British soldiers, including many Scots, were settled on the New York–Lower Canada border after 1815 (partly to rectify the weakness revealed during the War of 1812). A number of soldiers deserted from the British army in America during the French and Indian War, and Wanted notices duly appeared in the American press. Scots who presumably later settled in America can be identified from such notices. James Ogilvie, born in Scotland during 1729, deserted from the Thirty-fifth Foot between Stillwater and Albany on 2 August 1761, and John McIntosh, born in Scotland in 1737, a silversmith, deserted the Seventeenth Foot at Ticonderoga in 1760.[32]

Throughout the Middle Colonies, and particularly in the cities of New York and Philadelphia, there were Scottish merchants, lawyers, and civil servants who were interconnected through blood and business. These Scottish merchants were in turn linked with other Scottish merchants in Scotland, London, the West Indies, and elsewhere within the thirteen colonies. The Scottish mercantile network in the Middle Colonies thus closely paralleled contemporary practice in the Chesapeake region. The Scottish Quaker family named Trent, which was earlier noted in connection with this seventeenth-century triangular trade, was still active in the Middle Colonies. William Trent, who had settled in Philadelphia as a merchant in 1682, moved to a site on the Assanpunk River, New Jersey, later known as Trenton, in 1714. In 1721 he was elected representative for Burlington in the New Jersey Assembly, in 1723 he became Speaker of the House of Representatives, and in the following year he became chief justice of the New Jersey Supreme Court.[33] One Scottish merchant family that was prominent in Glasgow and Philadelphia simultaneously was the McCalls. During the 1690s Samuel McCall (1681–1759) was sent from his native Dumfries-shire to Glasgow to be trained as a merchant and in due course established the firm Samuel McCall, Virginia merchants, which was mainly involved in the tobacco trade. In America the family was represented by his brother George, who had settled there in 1700 and had become a merchant in Philadelphia.[34] George was eventually joined by his nephew Samuel, son of Samuel McCall the Glasgow merchant. Possibly Samuel McCall, Jr.'s most ambitious venture was a trading voyage to China around 1735.[35] John McCall (1715–90), his brother, at one time kept a store in Essex County, Virginia, but returned to Glasgow, where he diversified his business interests to include banking when he became the co-founder of the Thistle Bank.[36] His son John later settled in St. Lucia, one of the Windward Islands. Through marriage the McCalls in Philadelphia were related to the family of Inglis of Auchendinny and Redhall in Scotland. John Inglis (1708–75), son of John Inglis of Auchendinny, settled in Nevis as a merchant, then moved to Philadelphia, where he married Catherine McCall in 1736.[37] Among the other leading Scots merchants in Philadelphia were James Craig, William McIlwaine, William Leiper, Alexander Arbuthnott, Alexander Leith, John Ross, and William Jeffrey;[38] in New York were David Shaw, Andrew McFarlane of Blairnairn, William McAdam, James Lamb, William Harvey, John Ross, John Duncan, and John Lindsay;[39] in New Jersey were John Craig, John Porterfield, and James Rochead.[40]

During much of the period Scots merchants tended to be centered in the major ports of New York and Philadelphia and engaged in the import-export trade. By the closing years of the French and Indian War the Scots were becoming a major element among the fur traders of upper New York, particularly in the vicinity of Albany. Some of these Scots were discharged soldiers and others the sons of immigrants; a few had come directly from Scotland. By the early 1760s such individuals as John Duncan, Walter Rutherford, James Stirling, John Porteous, James Phyn, Alexander Ellice, and Daniel Campbell had become prominent among the fur traders and merchants of New York.[41]

Privateering was a high-risk but sometimes profitable enterprise of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. As was true in the case of William Kidd, "respectable" merchants would provide the financial backing for such a venture and in due course act as distributors of seized cargoes. Philadelphia and New York, major ports, were the bases of a number of privateers including some Scots. Some had been legitimate ship masters turned privateers attracted by the high profits. Hugh Steel, originally a Bo'ness ship master, settled in Philadelphia and sailed privateering voyages against the Spanish and the French until his death in 1757. John MacPherson (1725–92) of Edinburgh moved to America in 1746 and was a Philadelphia-based privateer from 1762 on. On the other hand, Scots skippers, such as Daniel Hutchison from Leith, a New York ship master around 1752, concentrated on more orthodox shipping activities.[42]

Scots were well represented at the time in the colonial civil service. Three of the early-eighteenth-century governors of New York were Scots—William Burnett, John Montgomery, and Cadwallader Colden. There were also scores of lesser officeholders, such as Archibald Kennedy, receiver general of New York; John Lindesay, naval officer of New York, later sheriff of Albany; Andrew Hamilton, colonial official in Pennsylvania;[43] James Alexander, surveyor general of New York;[44] and James Stevenson, receiver of taxes at Albany.[45]

In the Middle Colonies, as elsewhere in colonial America, the Scots were found in relatively high numbers working as tutors and schoolmasters; some of them later became clergymen. George Murison (1675–1708) was a schoolmaster in Albany from 1703; David Martin was rector of Philadelphia Academy around 1750; William Smith (1727–1803) was a tutor in New York, teacher at the College of Philadelphia, and founder of Washington College in 1780; and John Beveridge was a language teacher at Philadelphia College in 1755. The first medical school in America was opened in Philadelphia in 1765; it was very much under Scottish influence, the majority of its staff having been trained in Edinburgh.[46]

The Jacobite Rebellions of 1715 and 1745, which had resulted in about two thousand Scots settling in the American colonies, the majority as involuntary exiles, seem to have contributed few settlers to the Middle Colonies. No Jacobite prisoner seems to have been landed north of Chesapeake Bay, although a few Jacobites who fled from Scotland in the aftermath of the rebellions did settle in the Middle Colonies. These included Lewis Gordon, who settled in Philadelphia before 1750; Dr. Hugh Mercer, who also settled there in 1746 (and later became a hero of the American Revolution); Dr. Peter Middleton, a physician who settled in New York after 1745; and Charles and Alexander Stedman, lawyers who settled in Philadelphia in 1746.[47]

Between 1707 and 1763 approximately four hundred Scottish criminals were banished to the plantations. Regrettably, their destinations were generally vaguely decreed and in practice depended on the destination of the ship master willing to transport them. There is, therefore, no hard evidence to prove that conficts were shipped from Scotland to the Middle Colonies. There is evidence that the practice of kidnapping and transporting people to America was continuing. One of the largest and most infamous instances of large-scale kidnapping occurred on the Isle of Skye, Inverness-shire, during 1739, when two local lairds organized the kidnapping and shipment of one hundred of their tenants, who were destined to be sold as indentured servants in Pennsylvania or New England. Fortunately for the prisoners the ship anchored at Donaghadie in Ulster, where the prisoners escaped.[48] Probably the most famous example of kidnapping was that of Peter Williamson.[49] As a boy of ten he was shanghaied in his native Aberdeen and shipped to Philadelphia, where he was sold to a farmer from the Forks of Delaware for sixteen pounds. Williamson was subsequently captured by Indians and eventually, after he fell into the hands of the French, repatriated in exchange for a Frenchman. In 1758 he returned to Aberdeen, sued those responsible for his kidnapping, and with the proceeds settled in Edinburgh, where he opened a coffeehouse, operated a penny post, and published the city's first directory in 1773.

By the middle of the eighteenth century the Middle Colonies were attracting immigrants from all parts of Scotland, who sailed directly or via Ireland or England to settle throughout the region. William Irving, from the Orkney Islands (father of Washington Irving), settled on the Hudson River in 1763;[50] and John Wallace, from the Borders, went to Philadelphia via Rhode Island in 1742.[51] A few settled for a time in Ulster before moving to America. John Walker, from Wigtown, sailed from Newry, Ireland, to Maryland in 1726 and later settled in Chester County, Pennsylvania;[52] and James Kelton, a Scot, immigrated via Ulster to America in 1735 and also settled in Chester County, Pennsylvania.[53]

There is no evidence to suggest any cases of large-scale, organized immigration to the Middle Colonies except for Lachlan Campbell's Highlanders. The absence of comprehensive records for the period clearly presents problems in ascertaining the quality and quantity of Scots immigrants of the early eighteenth century; the incomplete evidence perhaps provides a misleading perception of the situation. The surviving data mainly pertain to Scots merchants and professionals living in the coastal cities, whereas it is highly likely that the majority of the Scots settling in the Middle Colonies were agricultural workers or engaged in related trades and worked on the frontier where land was freely available. Since these people were largely outside the bureaucracy of the colonial authorities or that of the church, almost no documentary evidence of their settlement remains. It is clear, however, that there was a demand in the colonies for skilled tradesmen and professional people; those positions offered the opportunity for social and economic advancement to young Scots and therefore stimulated the desire to immigrate to the colonies.

## *The Chesapeake*

By the end of the seventeenth century a small minority of people settled in Tidewater Virginia and Maryland were Scots or of Scottish origin. Many had gone there via London as indentured servants or as political and religious transportees, others to work in the tobacco industry. Although Scottish servants were allowed to settle in the American plantations prior to the Union of 1707, direct trade with Scotland was forbidden under the Navigation Acts. The political union of Scotland and England in 1707 officially removed all restrictions on trade and settlement by Scots in English America, legalizing previously illicit trade, especially in tobacco. Thereafter Scottish emigration to Virginia and Maryland grew steadily, the largest group being Scots prisoners of war exiled to America. In November 1715 a Jacobite army, largely composed of in 1726 and later settled in Chester County, Pennsylvania;[52] and James Kelton, a Scot, immigrated via Ulster to America in 1735 and also settled in Chester County, Pennsylvania.[53]

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Relatively little subsequent information on these immigrants exists, but presumably the majority settled in the vicinity of the Chesapeake. One of the few who can be identified is Francis Home from Wedderburn, Berwickshire, who encouraged other members of his family to settle in Virginia. His nephew George Home, born at Wedderburn in 1698, immigrated in 1721 to Virginia, where he was employed as a surveyor. Francis Home was appointed estate factor in Virginia by his kinsman Governor Alexander Spotswood. On 26 June 1716 John Dunbar, a Scottish gentleman captured at

Preston, wrote from Liverpool to his friend the laird of Grange in Scotland, prior to being transported, that he hoped to settle "at Sandie poynt in Vergeinra on the James River." Despite the fact that he should have worked there for seven years, Dunbar seems to have spent little time in Virginia. On 9 July 1717 his brother James Dunbar wrote from Rhode Island to the laird of Grange advising him that John Dunbar had arrived there from Virginia. John Dunbar was engaged thereafter on trading voyages along the coast of America. Another Jacobite transportee was Robert Stewart from Glen Quaich, Perthshire, who was shipped on board the *Elizabeth and Anne.* On 17 October 1716 Governor Spotswood allocated Stewart to Captain Edward Trafford, master of that ship, who eventually assigned him to a William Gordon. Stewart returned to Scotland, at least temporarily, in May 1717, when he was sent on business by his master.[56]

After the failure of the '45 Rebellion more than 900 prisoners of war—men, women, and children—were transported to the American plantations; of these, 155 have been identified as having been landed in Maryland but none in Virginia. In February 1747 the *Gildart* and the *Johnson* sailed from Liverpool with cargoes of Jacobite prisoners exiled to America. In May 1747 73 Scots prisoners were landed at Port North Potomac, Maryland, from the *Gildart,* and 80 were landed from the *Johnson* at Port Oxford, Maryland, to be sold as indentured servants.[57] These "immigrants" tended to come from the Highlands or northeastern Scotland and included William Cargill, a twenty-year-old tobacconist from Montrose, who had fought in Ogilvy's Forfarshire Regiment; Michael Steele, a laborer from Logie-Almond, late of the Atholl Brigade; Robert Bowie, a fourteen-year-old servant from Strathbogie, late of Lord Lewis Gordon's Regiment; George Baillie, a forty-four-year-old bonnet maker from Dundee, a former captain in the Jacobite army; and Katherine McEwan, forty, from Fort William.

During the eighteenth century there was a steady trickle of Scottish convicts banished to America, there to be sold off as indentured servants. Around five hundred criminals were sent to America from Scotland prior to the revolution. The records of the

High Court of Justiciary are rarely specific as to the part of America the convicts were destined for, and their fate very much lay in the hands of the shipmasters who could be persuaded to carry them. There are, however, a number of cases in which landing certificates have survived that tell where and when the prisoners were landed. Archibald Blair, Margaret Colford, and Ann Rattray, felons, were landed in Charles County, Maryland, on 24 May 1728 by James Butchart, master of the *Concord of Glasgow,* and sold to David Cochrane, a local merchant.[58] A group of gypsies, prisoners in Jedburgh Tolbooth—Peter and Mary Faa, John Fenwick, Elizabeth Lindsay, Mary and Margaret Robertson, Jean Ross, Mabel Stirling, and Janet Yorstoun—was taken to Glasgow and shipped from there to Virginia on 1 January 1715.[59] Subsequent information on such transportees is minimal, although a letter from one such immigrant, James Borthwick, is extant.[60] Borthwick, writing from the Rappahannock River, Virginia, on 7 May 1733 tells of "a tedious ten-week voyage, much ill usage, many hardships and perils at sea, we arrived in this river and of 200 transports 100 died in the voyage." James Borthwick was sold to Colonel Charles Grymes, customs collector on the Rappahannock River, who employed him as a schoolmaster and bookkeeper for seven years. Borthwick's experience contrasts with that of a contemporary indentured servant, Donald MacPherson, who wrote from Port Tobacco, Maryland, around 1727 to his father James MacPherson in Inverness-shire, "Dere was saxty o's a' kame inte te quintry hel a lit an lim nane o's dyit pat Shonie Magwillivray an an other Ross lad." MacPherson had been transported from Inverness and sold as a servant to John Bayne on the Potomac River, Maryland; he hoped "fan I ha dun wi mi mestir, hi maun gi mi a plantashon te set mi up, its de quistium hier in dis quintry."[61]

Probably the vast majority of the Scots who settled in Virginia and Maryland during the early eighteenth century went there as indentured servants. Regrettably, in Scotland no register of indentured servants was maintained as was the case in the English ports of Bristol, Liverpool, and London, and only a few individual contracts have survived. An analysis of the London records of the period suggests that Maryland attracted more Scots servants via

London than did Virginia. Moreover, the majority of the Scottish servants going to the Chesapeake from London were skilled artisans, bakers, clerks, cordiners, gardeners, coopers, tutors, and husbandmen. These included Mungo Grant, a coppersmith from Inverness who went to Maryland in May 1753, and William Davidson, a twenty-year-old clerk from Perth who went to Virginia in November 1727.[62] Possibly many indentured servants were recruited informally in Scotland by shipmasters and sold on arrival in America. Occasionally a Scot, temporarily back from America, would recruit suitable laborers and send them back to America as indentured servants. James Freeman, born in Aberdeen during 1714, son of a local baker, went via London to Maryland as an indentured servant in 1729; in 1741, when visiting Aberdeen, he recruited Abraham and John Davidson as servants and shipped them to Virginia aboard the *Charming Nancy*.[63] According to a contemporary newspaper advertisement Robert McFarland, a Scottish servant, ran away from his master, Rev. Robert Rose (himself a Scot) of Albemarle County, Virginia, to Carolina in February 1752. Sometimes such advertisements identify people who absconded from ships, presumably unsold servants. John Johnston, Thomas Short, and Robert Millen, all Scots, ran away from the *Encouragement of London* at Westport, Virginia, on 8 April 1752. John Brown, born in Leith, and Samuel McDowall, born in Newport, Glasgow, ran away from the *Berry* in Virginia on 8 March 1752.[64]

Originally an indentureship was an agreement under which a youth would receive training as an apprentice in a specified trade or profession, but by the seventeenth century people were agreeing to work in the colonies in exchange for transport there. There are, however, a few examples of people entering such contracts in the original spirit, with the training being carried out in America. For example, on 18 March 1734 Michael Wallace, born in 1719, son of William Wallace of Galrigs, merchant in Glasgow, was indentured for six years to learn "Physick, Surgery and Pharmacy" with Dr. Gustavus Brown of Charles County, Maryland.[65] In 1708 Dr. Brown, originally from Roxburghshire, had settled in Maryland, where he built up a successful practice as a physician. Michael Wallace in due course became a physician in

Falmouth, Virginia. Far more typical were the indentureships of youths to be trained in the tobacco trade. Neill Campbell was indentured to Archibald Ingram, John Glassford and Company for five years' service in Virginia in 1758;[66] on 24 April 1761 James, son of Andrew Robison, schoolmaster at Dalry, was indentured in Glasgow for three years as a clerk and factor to William Cunningham and John Stuart, merchants on the Rappahannock River, Virginia; and David, son of Zachariah Allason, the Gorbals, went to Virginia in 1757 as an indentured servant to Archibald Ritchie at Rappahannock, Virginia.[67]

Colonial America attracted a number of Scottish clergymen. This was particularly true of Virginia, where a relatively high proportion of the Anglican clergymen had been Scots Episcopalians by origin. Episcopalian ministers in Scotland lacked opportunity after 1689, when the Church of Scotland finally adopted the Presbyterian system of church government. This caused a number of Scots Episcopalian ministers to settle in America under the auspices of the bishop of London, who was responsible for the colonial church then. One such was the Reverend James Blair, later commissary of Virginia. The failure of the Jacobites in Scotland resulted in the persecution of the Episcopal church because it had given its support to the House of Stuart; this further stimulated the migration of Episcopalian ministers to the American colonies. Many Episcopal ministers who served the Church of England in Virginia came from northeastern Scotland, among them James and Alexander, sons of Rev. John Scott, Morayshire; Andrew Thomson from Montrose; and Alexander, son of Alexander Cruden, an Aberdeen maltster.[68] Due largely to the activities of Commissary Blair, the influence of the Scots in the colonial church in Virginia was out of proportion to the number of Scottish communicants there, which led to antagonism at times with the authorities, both temporal and spiritual.

Prior to the revolution the Church of England was the established church in Virginia, while other churches, including the (Presbyterian) Church of Scotland, could only conduct services subject to a license. The influx of the Scotch-Irish, who were overwhelmingly Presbyterian, led to the spread of Presbyterian churches in areas such as Augusta County. Sometimes the Anglican clergy viewed the Presbyterians as a potential threat and opposed them. For example, the Reverend George Trask of Chesterfield County asked Commissary Dawson to refrain from issuing a license to the local Presbyterians.[69] A French traveler visiting Virginia in 1765 remarked on Portsmouth and Norfolk, Virginia, "chiefly inhabited by the Scotch, all presbyterians and altho they are the most bigoted set of people in the world, have no house of worship of their own."[70] One of the earliest Scots Presbyterian ministers in Virginia was Robert Lawson, an Edinburgh graduate who briefly served in Monokinie and Wicomico until his death in 1712.[71] In Maryland also the Presbyterians were very much in the minority although the Scotch-Irish did augment their numbers significantly toward the end of the period. Very few Scots ministers were to be found then. An exception was Daniel McGill, an Edinburgh graduate and minister at Patuxent from 1714 until his death in 1724. Scots Episcopalian ministers were also less numerous in Maryland; one of the few identified is Isaac Campbell, licensed by the bishop of London in 1747, rector of Trinity parish, Charles County, Maryland, from 1748 until his death in 1784. Rev. Campbell married Jean Brown, one of nine daughters of Dr. Gustavus Brown. Three of the Brown girls married Scots Episcopal ministers in Maryland: Rev. John Moncur, Rev. James Scott, and Rev. Isaac Campbell.[72] Another married the aforementioned Dr. Michael Wallace from Glasgow.

On occasion there seems to have been a degree of strain between the Scottish clergymen and their largely English congregations. Christopher Wilkinson wrote from the Charles River, Maryland, to the bishop of London in May 1718 reporting complaints against Mr. Baily, a clergyman removed from office for drunkenness, swearing, and quarreling. He added, "It would be better for parishes to remain vacant than to be supplied with young men from Scottish universities."[73]

Probably the most famous Scottish physician to settle in eighteenth-century Virginia was Dr. Hugh Mercer, born in 1726, son of the minister of Pitsligo. Dr. Mercer, a graduate of Marischal College, Aberdeen, found it expedient to leave Scotland in 1746 because of his Jacobite activities and to settle in Virginia. He settled initially in Green Castle, Virginia; after serving in the army during the French and Indian War, he moved to Fredericksburg. Hugh Mercer died in January 1777 after the Battle of Princeton, during which he led the American forces.[74]

Another area where Scots were relatively prominent was in education. The work of Rev. James Blair and Mungo Inglis at the College of William and Mary has been noted earlier. Sometimes Scottish graduates would emigrate to America as indentured servants specifically to tutor the families of plantation owners. Walter Lyon, a divinity student, was indentured in Glasgow on 9 March 1754 to Edward Hack Mosely, Princess Anne County, Virginia. Lyon agreed to tutor Mosely's children for four years at a salary of £20 per annum.[75] Others, like the aforementioned James Borthwick, were recruited from among the ranks of the indentured servants landed in America. Sometimes clergymen would be employed as tutors in a temporary capacity while waiting for appointment to parishes, an example being the Reverend David Currie from Edinburgh, tutor to the Lee family of Virginia during the 1730s.[76]

The Clyde-Chesapeake tobacco trade, which had been expanding gradually since 1707, experienced a marked and rapid growth during the 1740s when the French tobacco-purchasing monopoly switched from buying in England to buying in Glasgow. Tobacco could be obtained more cheaply in Glasgow because the Glasgow firms had resident factors based in Virginia who would stockpile tobacco ready for shipment, thus reducing loading and waiting time; the Chesapeake-Clyde sailing route was safer and shorter; the Glasgow merchant firms were fewer than their English counterparts but better organized to exploit any advantage; and finally (and possibly most important), the credit facilities offered by the Scots factors and storekeepers in Virginia to the small planters effectively guaranteed supplies for the Glasgow market. The Scottish-owned stores, which bought and exchanged tobacco for a range of imported goods often made in Scotland, tended to be located along the James and Potomac rivers, where the cheaper tobacco could be obtained. Though originally supercargoes were dispatched with merchant ships to purchase tobacco in America, this arrangement was soon superseded by the more efficient system of resident factors or storekeepers. From around 1720, tobacco was cultivated increasingly by small planters in inland Maryland and Virginia. These new areas soon became the preserve of Scottish factors. From towns such as Norfolk and Portsmouth, Virginia, the Scots factors controlled operations throughout the Chesapeake, and those towns soon contained a substantial Scottish population. Among the employees of Alexander Spiers and Company sent from Glasgow to Virginia was James Parker. Parker, born in Port Glasgow during 1729, worked as a tobacco factor in Virginia, where he later formed a partnership with William Aitchison, based in Norfolk, Virginia. Although, in common with most of the Norfolk merchants, he was a Loyalist who returned home during the Revolutionary War, his son remained in Virginia and became a partner in James Campbell and Company in Norfolk.[77] One of the most successful Scots in Virginia during the eighteenth century was Charles Steuart, who originally went to Virginia as an apprentice factor to a Scots store on the Rappahannock River. By 1760 he was a partner in a Norfolk-based firm trading to the West Indies and the Mediterranean, and in 1766 the governor of Virginia appointed him receiver and paymaster general of the new American Board of Customs. From 1769 he worked in London and finally retired to Edinburgh, where he died in 1797.[78] The most famous of all the Scots merchants in Virginia was Neil Jamieson. His career and operations there covered the period 1757 to 1789 and are well documented in the Neil Jamieson Papers in the Library of Congress.

Although the tobacco trade is normally associated with Glasgow, it should be kept in mind that a number of lesser Scottish ports had direct trading links with the Chesapeake and therefore offered transport possibilities to the would-be Scots emigrants to Virginia or Maryland. The records of the High Court of the Admiralty of Scotland contain a process of 1736 that provides evidence of a direct trade in tobacco between Virginia and the Western Highlands. The petition refers to the ship the *Diamond*, owned by the Oban Company, which had come from Virginia with a cargo of tobacco bound for Fort William but had been damaged at Kerrara, Argyll, on 29 December 1735.[79] The above-named vessel is presumably the *Diamond of Glasgow*, under master Robert Arthur, known to have transported fifty-one people from Argyllshire to America in the spring of 1740.[80] One of the few Scots identified as having come from that part of Scotland to Virginia at the time was Archibald McNeil, who died in Princess Anne County in 1741.[81]

Montrose on the east coast of Scotland carried on a thriving trade with the Chesapeake throughout the period. One of the leading merchant families in Montrose was that of Coutts, later bankers in London. During the eighteenth century the Coutts family traded with Scandinavia, Holland, the Baltic, London, and America. In the Chesapeake region their representatives were Hercules Coutts, a merchant in Maryland around 1751,[82] and Patrick Coutts from Aberdeen, who settled at Richmond Falls, Virginia, around 1747.[83]

It is clear therefore that the Scots played a major role in the social and economic development of Virginia and Maryland and could be found at every level of society from governors such as Robert Dinwiddie and Alexander Spotswood to humble indentured servants. They were particularly active and relatively numerous in the tobacco trade throughout Virginia and Maryland, especially in towns such as Norfolk, Virginia. There is no evidence of any large-scale settlement, but rather a steady expansion of the Scottish population along the Chesapeake. Roderick Gordon from Banff served as a ship's surgeon in a vessel trading between Britain and the Chesapeake before settling down in 1729 to work as a physician in King and Queen County, Virginia. He wrote in a letter to his brother Arthur Gordon of Carnousie, "Pity it is that thousands of my countrymen should stay starving at home, when they can live here in peace and plenty, as a great many who have been transported for a punishment have found pleasure, profit and ease and would rather undergo any hardship than be forced back to their own country."[84]

## *The Carolinas*

During this period the legal structure of the Carolinas changed with division into two distinct colonies, which later become Crown rara, Argyll, on 29 December 1735.[79] The above-named vessel is presumably the *Diamond of Glasgow*, under master Robert Arthur, known to have transported fifty-one people from Argyllshire to America in the spring of 1740.[80] One of the few Scots identified as having come from that part of Scotland to Virginia at the time was Archibald McNeil, who died in Princess Anne County in 1741.[81]

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## *The Carolinas*

During this period the legal structure of the Carolinas changed with division into two distinct colonies, which later become Crown colonies. This did not have any direct effect on the level of emigration from Scotland, which was mainly, though not wholly, motivated by economic factors. Scottish settlement can be divided into three distinct phases, first by merchants and their servants on the coast, then by Highlanders along the Cape Fear valley, and finally, to a lesser extent, by those who landed at Philadelphia and followed the Great Wagon Road down to the piedmont.

By the end of the late seventeenth century there were Scots within the English settlements along the coast, particularly the neighborhood of Charleston. There is no evidence of any massive influx of Scots into the coastal towns, rather a gradual expansion of the Scottish element within the colonial population, among the merchants and the colonial administrators. By around 1740 the Scottish influence in the Carolinas was out of proportion to their numbers. This subsequently facilitated the relatively large-scale settlement of immigrants from Argyll along the Cape Fear River. The strength of the Scots influence was achieved and maintained through bonds of blood and business among the colonial officials (including governors), landowners, merchants, and members of the professional classes.

Economically and socially the settlements along the Carolina coast could be separated into two distinct regions. The most important of these was centered on Charleston and stretched from Georgia north to Cape Fear. The other region was formed by the northeastern counties of North Carolina, lying adjacent to Albemarle Sound and Pamlico Sound, within the Chesapeake sphere of influence.

The former region contained a sizable minority of population that was Scottish or of Scots origin. A St. Andrews Society was established as early as 1729 in Charleston. The Scottish connection originated in the Covenanter settlement of 1686 at Stuart's Town and had built up gradually since then. There is no evidence of any large-scale Scottish immigration to the region apart from the Jacobite prisoners banished there in 1716. In 1715 a Jacobite army was captured after the Siege of Preston. Many of these Jacobites were transported to North America as indentured servants, 185 on the *Susannah* and the *Wakefield* to South Carolina. Little evidence regarding the lives of these men in the Carolinas has survived; presumably they served out their periods of indenture, then settled in America, forbidden to return to Great Britain. There are, among the South Carolina Probate Office[85] manuscripts, a few testaments representing perhaps the only documentary material on these Jacobite exiles in South Carolina—the wills of Thomas Guild, possibly from Glamis, a resident of Colleton County, 1737 (possibly the Thomas Guild who was transported in 1716); John Johnston, from Aberdeen, of New Windsor, South Carolina, 1744 (possibly the John Johnston who was transported in 1716); William MacKenzie, a planter in South Carolina, 1738 (possibly the William MacKenzie who was transported in 1716); and John Crockett, a merchant in Charleston, 1759 (possibly the John Crockett who was transported in 1716). Many of the Jacobites transported in 1716 appear to have come from Inverness-shire and to have fought at Preston under the leadership of Brigadier William MacIntosh of Borlum. Although Borlum temporarily escaped to France, many of his men, including a number of MacIntoshes, were captured and transported to South Carolina, thus creating a tenuous link between Inverness and South Carolina.

Among the South Carolina Probate Records is the testament of Myles MacIntosh dated 26 March 1729. Since he does not appear on the list of Jacobite transportees in 1716, it must be assumed that he immigrated there. According to his testament, a copy of which was recorded in the Sheriff Court Books of Inverness on 8 March 1728, he appointed as his executors Andrew Allen, William MacKenzie, and Duncan McQueen and referred to his wife Margaret and daughter Katherine in the parish of Delarish, Inverness-shire.[86] Later, in an assignation dated 20 December 1734, his widow Margaret McBean described her late husband as "sometime tenant in Kellochie, thereafter Indian trader in Charleston." His executors can all be identified as Scots: William MacKenzie and Duncan McQueen (aforementioned) were both Jacobite transportees whereas Andrew Allen was a burgess and guilds brother of Glasgow, a merchant and member of the St. Andrews Society of Charleston. The case of Myles MacIntosh may be an early example of what became an epidemic after 1763, namely a Highlander whose immigration to America had been stimulated by friends and relatives settled there.

It is clear that many, if not most, of the Scots who reached America at this time went as indentured servants. One of the few indentureship agreements to survive in Scotland is a pro forma document subscribed in Edinburgh on 31 January 1737 by William, son of Hugh Campbell tenant in Argyll, who contracted for four years' service in Carolina.[87] The fact that this document was printed suggests that there were many more such documents. Other Scots, such as Mary Mackenzie from Banff in 1736, went to Carolina as indentured servants via London.[88] These people immigrated as individuals, but there is also evidence of groups of indentured servants sailing from Scotland to the Carolinas.[89] In 1753 John Rutherford of Bowland, a Scottish merchant in Wilmington, shipped eleven indentured servants from Leith to Cape Fear on the *Elizabeth and Peggy,* under master Walter Scott. During the previous year the same John Rutherford recruited Peter Brown and John Cairns from Dundee and Patrick Hunter from Leith to work as carpenters in his shipyard in North Carolina. They were shipped to Carolina from Leith on his snow *Grenadier*. Immigration as indentured servants was not restricted to the low-income groups and convicts; for example, Robert Wilson, an apothecary and surgeon of Burntisland, sailed from London to Charleston as an indentured servant in 1753.[90]

In a number of cases indentured servants were so badly treated that they broke the terms of their contract and absconded. Advertisements for them could be read in contemporary newspapers.[91] George Dempster, a Scottish cooper, ran away from his master, J. Fraser, in Charleston in June 1734, and John Thomson, a Scottish tailor, ran away from his master Hugh Evans in Charleston in November 1734. Newspapers also listed ships' crew members who jumped ship, presumably to settle in America; one example is John Dick of the snow *Nancy of Burntisland* in December 1753. Evidence in the form of an Admiralty Court decree dated Edinburgh 1739 proves that at least one group of Scots had been recruited to settle on lands recently granted to Captain Joseph Avery in South Carolina. The case revolves around Alexander Davidson, an Edinburgh bookseller, who had paid thirteen pounds sterling in 1736 to be taken with his wife, child, and servant to South Carolina but had missed the ship.[92] When one considers the substantial number of land grants in favor of people bearing Scottish names in South Carolina during the 1730s, it seems likely that at least some of them recruited settlers from Scotland to people their newly acquired lands.

During much of the eighteenth century the coastal strip of Carolina was a prosperous agricultural area of small farms and plantations producing rice. The only town of any consequence was Charleston, which was the fifth most important town in colonial America. The Scots were well represented among the merchant and professional classes in South Carolina, particularly in Charleston. As has already been established, the Scots were numerous enough to establish a St. Andrews Society in 1729. Of the forty-nine founder members forty-eight had distinctively Scottish names. The list of early members of the society also contains the names of people banished as Jacobites in 1716; examples are John Crockett, John McGillivray, Lachlan McGillivray, George Dysart, and William MacKenzie.

Among the more prominent Scottish settlers in South Carolina was James Kinloch, son of Sir Francis Kinloch of Gilmerton, who arrived in 1703. By 1737 he owned nearly 10,000 acres in Craven County.[93] In 1728 his brother James was admitted as a burgess and guilds brother of Glasgow with the right to trade in that city. Alexander, son of Sir John Nisbet, went to South Carolina as an indentured servant in 1721 and worked as a storekeeper for his kinsman Alexander Nisbet.[94] In 1737 he received a 1,180-acre land grant in Craven County, and in 1742 he married Mary Rutherford, possibly related to John Rutherford of Bowland. Alexander Nisbet was serviced as heir to his nephew Sir Henry Nisbet of Dean on 24 March 1747. In his will, written in Charleston on 14 January 1769 and subsequently proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury on 24 July 1769, George Seaman, a merchant from Leith, revealed his connections with other Scots in Charleston: John Deas, John Lennox, William Lennox, David Deas, James Lennox, . . . Cathcart, William Buchanan, Seaman Deas, Rachel Caw, John Richardson, Archibald Broun, Robert Broun, Dr. John Moultrie, William Woodrop, William Allen Deas, Alexander Rigg, James Keith, and others. The Scots in the Carolinas, as elsewhere in America, seem to have been a close-knit group despite seemingly being fully integrated into an Anglo-American society. Their executors were usually Scots or of Scots origin, as were their friends, business associates, and relatives by marriage.

Among the Scots-born colonial officials in South Carolina were John Rattray, judge of the Court of Vice-Admiralty; Thomas Nairn, Indian agent; Alexander Stewart, registrar of the Court of Chancery; James Glen, governor; James Wedderburn, clerk of the Court of Common Pleas; and many others. South Carolina also attracted its share of Scottish clergymen, both Presbyterian and Episcopalian. There were Presbyterians such as Archibald Stobo, George Anderson, John Deane, Charles Gordon, John Rae, James Rymer, and John Witherspoon. The Episcopalians included Alexander Baron, Robert Cumming, William Dawson, and Alexander Garden. Scots ministers were not always popular with the local clergy. A letter to Bishop Gibson in Charleston on 1 October 1724 asked him to restrain the migration of "fanatick teachers" from New England and Scotland, and in 1753 Bishop Sherlock was advised that "the church in the Province has suffered from having too many Scotch clergymen." When George Whitfield, the Methodist preacher, visited "New Town on Cape Fear river" in late 1727, there were many Scots in his congregation.[95] The Scots seem to have been more numerous among the merchants and professional classes of Charleston than among the plantation owners although there were some who filled dual roles: William Brisbane, a surgeon from Glasgow, was also a planter on the Ashley River;[96] and George Hunter, from Ayrshire, was both surveyor general and a planter near Charleston.[97] Scots planters in South Carolina included a few, such as the Cuthberts, who had abandoned Georgia in favor of South Carolina[98] and others who had come directly from Scotland, such as William Buchanan, Peter Hume, and William Swinton.[99]

The availability of land highly suitable for growing the very profitable product rice coupled with the availability of slave labor meant that social and economic advancement was quite feasible. An observer wrote of mid-eighteenth-century Charleston, "Every tradesman is a Merchant, every Merchant is a Gentleman, and every Gentleman one of the Noblesse." [100]

The northeastern counties of North Carolina contained the towns of Edenton, Bath, and New Bern, each of which acted at a different time as the center of government for the colony. In their joint capacity of capital city they attracted a number of Scottish immigrants employed as colonial officials. Gabriel Johnston, a former professor of Hebrew at the University of St. Andrews, served as governor of North Carolina from 1733 until his death in 1752.[101] During his period of office he actively encouraged Scottish immigrants, including his relatives, to settle within the colony. His brother Samuel became the surveyor general; his nephew Samuel, a lawyer and planter in Edenton. His sister Elizabeth and kinsman Gilbert settled in Wilmington. Other notable immigrants were William Pollock, a graduate of Edinburgh University who arrived in 1706 and later served on the Council of North Carolina; his kinsman Thomas Pollock from Glasgow; and his sons Thomas, Cullen, and George.[102] John Rutherford of Bowland, who settled on Cape Fear in 1739, became a leading planter, merchant, and public official in Wilmington.[103] Through his marriage in 1734 to Frances, widow of Governor Johnston, in 1734 and also through the marriage of his daughter he became related to many of the influential families in North Carolina. Although there were Scottish families in various coastal towns, they were relatively fewer than in the Charleston area further south. The Scots merchants in northeastern North Carolina were mainly engaged in the tobacco trade and operated in what was virtually an offshoot of the Glasgow-Virginia tobacco economy. These included William Alexander from Greenock, in Halifax County;[104] David Henderson from Glasgow, in Bertie County;[105] William Littlejohn from Inverness, in Edenton;[106] and Thomas Pollock, from Glasgow and later the West Indies, in Chowan County.[107] Among those with dual occupations were William Cathcart, a physician and merchant in Northampton County,[108] and Alexander Stewart, a planter, merchant, and clerk of the County Court at Bath.[109] The only Scottish-born minister known to have permanently settled in northeastern North Carolina was John Boyd from Glasgow, who having spent some time as a physician in Virginia became an Episcopalian missionary in North Carolina until his death in Bertie County during 1738.[110] The lack of Scottish ministers may indicate a lack of a Scots population there at that time.

The Scottish Highlander settlement on the Cape Fear River has attracted the particular attention of a number of historians. The foremost work on this subject has been Duane Meyer's *Highland Scots of North Carolina, 1732–1776*. During the 1730s pressures built up in the Highlands of Scotland that led to a movement of population south to the Scottish Lowlands and overseas to the American colonies. The decision by many Highlanders to migrate to North Carolina was largely due to the activities of Governor Gabriel Johnston. Johnston, as part of his plan to develop the colony, attempted to attract immigrants from Europe through making land readily available and providing financial incentives to "foreign protestants" in the form of tax exemption for the first ten years after disembarkation. The Cape Fear region, which had earlier been plagued by pirates and Indians, began to attract settlers only after 1720 when the area had been pacified and navigational hazards at the river mouth clearly marked. Governor George Burrington had founded New Town fifteen miles up the Cape Fear River as the main port of entry to the area. Gabriel Johnston expanded it and renamed it Wilmington after his patron the earl of Wilmington. The development of Wilmington was also a conscious attempt by the colonial administration to establish a port to rival nearby Brunswick and, perhaps more important, to have a port independent of Virginia to control much of the commerce of North Carolina.

The Cape Fear district, officially known by 1729 as New Hanover County, had a few Highlanders (such as Hugh Campbell, James Innes, and William Forbes) who had received land grants there before the advent of Governor Johnston; however, the main thrust of Highland immigration to the Cape Fear Valley began in 1739 and continued in waves well into the nineteenth century. As in the case of Georgia, once a successful foothold was established groups of Highland immigrants followed the established route. Johnston's land-grant policy, together with the decision to class the Highlanders as "foreign protestants," clearly tipped the balance in favor of North Carolina, rather than other colonies, such as Georgia or New York, that were also seeking settlers from the Highlands for their frontier regions.

The first group of Highlanders to settle in North Carolina sailed from Argyll in 1739 under the leadership of Duncan Campbell of Kilduskland, Coll McAlister, Daniel McNeil, Dougal McNeil, and Neil McNeil. These "Scotch Gentlemen and several poor people" numbering around 350 settled in Bladen County; 22 of these immigrants were allocated land for their families and servants along the Cape Fear River one hundred miles inland from Wilmington. The migration from Argyllshire was not a spontaneous movement but was the result of careful research and consideration.[111] The decision to immigrate to America was partly the outcome of correspondence between Neil McNeil, one of the leaders of the immigrants, and his brother Captain Hector McNeil, skipper of a merchant ship trading between England, the West Indies, and North America. In 1736 Hector wrote to his brother regarding the possibility of Highlanders immigrating to New England and pointed out the success of a group of immigrants from Ulster there. The following spring he wrote again to his brother Neil on the same subject, but by then a favorable report of the group sent to North Carolina to survey the Cape Fear area with a view to settling had been received and the decision to immigrate to North Carolina been made. The only other link between Argyll and North Carolina that may have been an influencing factor was that Joseph Clark from Jura had worked as a surveyor on the Cape Fear River during 1733.[112] In June 1739 the *Thistle of Saltcoats*, under master Robert Brown, sailed from Campbelltown for Brunswick, North Carolina, landing 350 immigrants from Kintyre and the nearby islands of Jura, Gigha, Islay, and Colonsay. Thus was established an immigration route that was to be followed by successive generations. The inhabitants of Argyllshire, under the influence of the duke of Argyll, had long been Presbyterian, and within a very short period those who settled in

Bladen (later Cumberland) County were appealing for a Gaelic-speaking minister. Duncan Campbell of Kilduskland personally requested one from the Presbytry of Inveraray on 3 November 1741 without success, and in 1748 seventy-seven residents of Bladen County subscribed to a letter to the Synod of Argyll requesting to be provided with a minister of the Church of Scotland. However, the desire for a Gaelic-speaking Presbyterian minister was not satisfied until 1758 when the Reverend James Campbell was appointed minister in the recently named Cumberland County.[113]

The settlement of Argyllshire Highlanders at Cross Creek gradually expanded from the date of its foundation in 1740. There is no indication of any large-scale immigration from Scotland into that area for nearly a generation thereafter but rather a steady influx of small groups. As stated earlier, in 1754 Cumberland County was formed out of Bladen County and named in honor of the duke of Cumberland. The choice of name was not as insensitive as some writers have suggested since the majority of the Highlander settlers originated in Argyll, which was strongly in favor of the Hanoverian cause.

The lack of comprehensive documentary evidence for the period makes it difficult to ascertain accurately the degree of Highland immigration to the Cape Fear valley during the mid eighteenth century. In the piedmont area of North Carolina, including the upper reaches of the Cape Fear River, many people bearing Scottish names were born in America, and there was also an influx of the Scotch-Irish who bore Scottish names. Though there may have been some intermingling of these groups on the periphery of their settlements, during much of the eighteenth century the majority of the inhabitants of Cumberland County were either Highland immigrants or their children.

The final group of Scots to settle in the Carolinas during the first half of the eighteenth century entered the colonies by way of the Great Philadelphia Wagon Road and settled in the piedmont. The Great Wagon Road eventually stretched nearly seven hundred miles, beginning in Philadelphia, passing through the Shenandoah valley and the piedmont, and going on to the Indian trading center of Augusta, Georgia. Various factors encouraged migrants to follow this trail: the price of land in Pennsylvania, the desire to avoid religious restrictions, and the French and Indian War. The Great Wagon Road was thus used by both the immigrant and the indigenous population as a migration route south from around 1729. Philadelphia, the major city and seaport of Anglo-America, was the port of disembarkation for thousands of European immigrants of the period, especially the Scotch-Irish and the Germans. The Scots who traveled south along the Great Wagon Road to settle in the piedmont usually did so as part of a group of Scotch-Irish settlers; and since they were basically the same people it is difficult to distinguish them, a task which at times becomes artificial.

A number of these immigrants had initially settled in Ulster but had later joined the exodus to America from Ireland.[114] James Knox, born in Scotland in 1708, sailed from Ireland to America in 1740 and settled in Rowan County, North Carolina; Alexander McLean, born in Argyll in 1709, immigrated from Larne to Philadelphia in the late 1720s, settling first in Pennsylvania and finally in Rowan County in 1739; and John Thomson, born in Scotland in 1690, sailed from County Down in 1715 and died in Yadkin County, North Carolina, in 1753. This group is the most difficult to identify and quantify as they completely integrated with the Scotch-Irish, from whom they were virtually indistinguishable anyway.

## *Georgia*

The region later to be known as Georgia was, during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, an area of debatable land—a frontier region claimed by both the English, as part of Carolina, and the Spanish, as part of Florida. From time to time the claimants sent armed expeditions into the region to underline their claims. The Spanish attacked and wiped out the Scottish settlement at Stuart's Town on the Port Royal River in 1686, and in 1702 the South Carolinians under Governor James Moore attacked St. Augustine. International rivalry in the area was also intensified by the French presence on the Mississippi. It was the desire to establish direct communication and trade with those territories low this trail: the price of land in Pennsylvania, the desire to avoid religious restrictions, and the French and Indian War. The Great Wagon Road was thus used by both the immigrant and the indigenous population as a migration route south from around 1729. Philadelphia, the major city and seaport of Anglo-America, was the port of disembarkation for thousands of European immigrants of the period, especially the Scotch-Irish and the Germans. The Scots who traveled south along the Great Wagon Road to settle in the piedmont usually did so as part of a group of Scotch-Irish settlers; and since they were basically the same people it is difficult to distinguish them, a task which at times becomes artificial.

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The formation of the colony of Georgia was a direct result of the philanthropic activities of James Edward Oglethorpe in England. As chairman of a parliamentary committee that investigated the conditions of prisons in England in 1729, he became aware of the problems of prisoners, especially those imprisoned for debt. One of the chief objectives Oglethorpe had in founding Georgia was to provide a refuge for the English urban poor, including former discharged prisoners. In 1732 power and authority to establish the colony of Georgia were vested in the hands of twenty-one, later twenty-four, trustees, of whom Oglethorpe and the earl of Egmont were the most prominent. Their full title was the Trustees for Establishing the Colony of Georgia in America; later they were referred to as the trustees.

The early immigrants to Georgia were motivated largely by the factors that had influenced immigration to America in the previous century: the desire to improve economic and social position and to escape from religious persecution. Initially the immigrants came from England, Scotland, and Germany. Those from the first two countries came for social and economic reasons; the immigrants from German-speaking Europe fled from religious persecution. The first to immigrate were the English; in November 1732 the *Ann*, under master John Thomas, sailed from Gravesend for Georgia with 114 passengers on board. This first shipload of colonists was dispatched at the expense of the trustees, who had to some degree selected them on the basis of skills relevant to the economic development of the colony.[115] They sent Paul Amatis, an Italian silk worker from Piedmont, and Daniel Thibaut who "understands vines," plus various tradesmen, textile workers, and farmers. The settlers were almost all English; but there were a few Scots, among them Thomas Christie, merchant, with his servant Robert Johnston, and Francis Scott, a reduced army officer, with his servant John Cameron.

German-speaking settlers came to Georgia to escape religious intolerance. In 1729 the archbishop of Salzburg, ruler of a state of the Holy Roman Empire, decided to convert his Lutheran subjects to Roman Catholicism. The outcome was that by 1732 thirty thousand Lutherans had fled their native Salzburg. After pressure from the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge and on receipt of government financial aid, the trustees in 1734 agreed to allow groups of Salzburgers to settle in Georgia. Their numbers were augmented in 1735 and 1736 by Moravians, another persecuted German-speaking religious sect.

Scottish immigration to Georgia in the 1730s can be analyzed into two distinct categories. The Lowlanders went for purely economic reasons, as farmers and later as merchants, but the Highlanders were recruited for strategic purposes, basically to guard the southern frontier from Spanish incursions.

The trustees desired to develop an economy based on the output of semitropical agricultural products such as silk, wine, and spices. In order to facilitate the success of this project the trustees decided to establish a botanical garden in Savannah and to stock it with a range of plants brought from the semitropics. This policy led to a Scottish connection in 1732 when the trustees recruited Dr. William Houstoun, member of an influential Renfrewshire family.[116] Dr. Houstoun, a graduate of St. Andrews and of Leyden, had previously been employed as a ship's surgeon on a South Sea Company vessel trading between South America, the West

Indies, and England. During such voyages he had collected specimen plants and prepared botanical reports for Sir Hans Sloane, president of the Royal Society and founder of the London Botanic Gardens. In October 1732 Dr. Houstoun was sent to the Caribbean via Madeira to collect "vines and seeds, roots or cuttings of any other useful plants . . . which are wanting in the British colonies, but particularly the cinnamon tree." Items collected were eventually to be sent from Jamaica to Charleston until the botanical gardens in Savannah were ready to receive them.[117] Houstoun died within a year of taking office but not before he had written to the trustees on 11 July 1733 recommending his kinsman as a prospective settler. On 1 August 1733 Patrick Houstoun, merchant in Glasgow, was allocated 500 acres of land in Georgia, subject to certain conditions. He had to undertake to bring with him ten menservants who would settle for three years; plant two thousand white mulberry trees, ten per acre; and allocate 20 acres to each manservant in due course. Similar grants made over the next few years to other Scottish gentlemen resulted in their settling with their servants and families in Georgia. John Baillie, merchant in Edinburgh, received 400 acres on 18 October 1733; Andrew Grant, merchant in Edinburgh, 400 acres on 18 October 1733; James Houstoun, merchant in Glasgow, 500 acres on 14 November 1733; Hugh and William Stirling, merchants in Glasgow, both 500 acres on 14 November 1733; Joseph Wardrope, house carpenter in Edinburgh, 150 acres on 30 January 1733; Patrick Tailfer, physician in Edinburgh, 500 acres on 18 October 1733; Thomas Baillie, gentleman in Orkney, 500 acres on 3 September 1735; George Dunbar, gentleman in Inverness-shire, 500 acres on 3 September 1735; John Cuthbert of Drackies, gentleman in Inverness-shire, 500 acres on 3 September 1735; Patrick McKay of Cyderhall, gentleman in Sutherland, 500 acres on 3 September 1735; Patrick Graham, surgeon-apothecary in Crieff, 100 acres on 19 May 1736; David Blair of Giffordland, gentleman in Ayrshire, 500 acres on 4 August 1736; Thomas Boyd of Pitcon, gentleman in Ayrshire, 500 acres on 4 August 1736; George Preston of Valleyfield, Perthshire, 500 acres on 23 November 1737; Thomas Ormiston, merchant in Edinburgh, 200 acres on 31 March 1736;

Robert Hay, cooper in Edinburgh, 500 acres on 5 December 1737; Hugh Cochrane, lieutenant colonel of His Majesty's Foot under General Oglethorpe, 500 acres on 23 November 1737; and Reverend John McLeod, missionary of the Incorporated Society in Scotland for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, at New Inverness, Darien, 300 acres in 1739.[118]

The first shipload of immigrants to sail from Scotland to Georgia left Leith in March 1734.[119] This group of about one hundred settlers included Hugh and William Stirling, Patrick Houstoun, Andrew Grant, Patrick Tailfer, Joseph Wardrope, and their indentured servants and families. While the ship was docked at Plymouth the press-gang took a dozen of the servants for service with the Royal Navy.[120] The ship eventually arrived in Georgia via Charleston, South Carolina, during August 1734. The passengers, apart from Joseph Wardrope and his servants, settled along the Savannah and Ogeechee rivers. Within a few years it was found that the farms were not commercially viable. The trustees forbade slavery, and the farms were unable to compete with the farmers of nearby South Carolina who relied on slave labor. Some of the settlers abandoned their farms and moved to Savannah or to the Carolinas; one example was Hugh Anderson, a gentleman of Bridgecastle, Scotland, who had been appointed inspector of the public gardens and mulberry plantations of Georgia by the trustees on 4 August 1735.

Prominent among the Scots who moved to Savannah at that time was the aforementioned Patrick Houstoun (1698–1762).[121] In 1739 he married Priscilla Dunbar, born in Inverness in 1711, sister of Captain George Dunbar. After settling temporarily in Josephstown, Georgia, in 1733, Captain Dunbar had sailed between Britain and Georgia bringing back immigrants, including those who sailed from Inverness on 18 October 1735 aboard the *Prince of Wales*. Patrick Houstoun carried on business as an Indian trader in Savannah while simultaneously operating as a planter nearby. He soon became involved in public life and in due course became president of His Majesty's Council of Georgia. Despite the setbacks experienced by the early Scots farmers in Georgia, interest in emigration to Georgia did not diminish in Scotland. In

February 1737 David Ferrier and William Campbell, merchants in Montrose, wrote to Oglethorpe regarding the possibility of receiving land grants and indicating their willingness to recruit tradesmen and laborers in Montrose for settlement in Georgia.[122] However, the vast majority of Scots in early Georgia had been recruited to protect the southern frontier and originated in the Highlands, particularly from around Inverness.

In 1735 when Oglethorpe was in England he authorized Lieutenant Hugh Mackay and Captain William Dunbar to recruit Highlanders from the vicinity of Inverness. On 21 October 1735 the *Prince of Wales* sailed from Inverness for Georgia with 163 immigrants aboard, including John Cuthbert, Patrick and John Mackay, and their indentured servants.[123] Why did James Oglethorpe, whose stated aim had been to help the English urban poor and who had recruited settlers in London, now turn to the Highlanders of Inverness for military settlers? The answer to this may lie in the Jacobite connections of his youth. His mother, Eleanor Wall Oglethorpe, has been described as "an inveterate Jacobite plotter" while his sisters had married into the French Catholic aristocracy and had links with the exiled Stuart court.[124] Among the Scots at that court were Brigadier William McIntosh of Borlum, who had led a Jacobite army into Lancashire only to be captured at the Siege of Preston in 1715, and his nephew John Mohr McIntosh. It may be that Oglethorpe had met McIntosh in France; certainly many of the Highlanders who were recruited in Inverness came from the ranks of Clan Chattan and were led by John Mohr McIntosh in Georgia.

Lieutenant Mackay had received quite specific instructions from the trustees on 16 July 1735 regarding the shipment, victualing, and eventual equipage of the immigrants on their arrival in Georgia.[125] He was commissioned to recruit 110 freemen and their servants and 50 women and children, to feed them on the voyage in accordance with specified rations, and to issue each immigrant on arrival in Georgia "12 bushels Indian corn, 100 lbs meat, 30 lbs butter, ¼ cwt cheese and a bushel of salt" with a cow, a calf, and a sow to every five people. The freemen, who had to be "of Gentlemen's families and of good reputation, industrious, laborious, brave and speaking the Highland language," were to be issued a firelock, a broadsword, an axe, and a targe. Each freeman was to be granted fifty acres, which could not be combined, in order to maintain sufficient men for the defense of the colony. Negro slaves and rum were forbidden, as was trading with the Indians unless licensed. The indentured servants were to get twenty acres each on completion of their periods of service. Captain Dunbar also received instructions for the voyage to Georgia. After loading arms at Tilbury on 22 August 1735 he was to sail for Leith before proceeding to Cromarty or Inverness. At Inverness he was to liaise with Lieutenant Mackay and John Hossack, merchant and baillie of Inverness; record the names, ages, and occupations of the immigrants; inquire into the possibility of further indentured servants for Georgia; and take on board the minister of the Gospel supplied by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in the Highlands of Scotland. The minister—John McLeod, a Gaelic-speaking clergyman from Skye—served at Darien, Georgia, from 1736 to 1741, when he moved to Edisto Island, South Carolina.[126]

By 1737 it was evident that more settlers were required to expand the labor force at Darien and to replace those who had been killed by the Spanish or who had died through disease.[127] Oglethorpe had already been in correspondence with Archibald McBean, who had offered to supply one hundred settlers from Inverness-shire and the surrounding counties: "20 freeholders, 10 without families, and 20 young women—no whores or criminals banished to the plantations." McBean and his cousin also wanted to bring ten men and two women at their own expense. In March 1737 the trustees also received a letter from Lachlan McLachlan and Donald Cameron "in the name and by the direction of several considerable families in Highlands of Scotland" regarding immigration to Georgia. The cooperation of "several considerable families in the Highlands" was clearly essential to the success of the immigration since, according to Daniel McLachlan, the Highlanders were reluctant to emigrate without their leaders but once a movement began they would emigrate in a body.

In March 1737 Archibald McBean began to recruit Highlanders in Inverness with the cooperation of John Hossack. In April 1737

Herman Verelst, on behalf of the trustees, wrote from London to Hossack advising him that the *Two Brothers,* under Captain Thompson, would arrive at Inverness to embark forty male indentured servants for Georgia; twenty shillings would be paid for every servant enrolled and five shillings would be allowed for clothing and bedding. He was also to buy 1,500 yards of tartan, 150 pairs of brogues, and 12 spinning wheels for shipment to Georgia. McBean was to receive passage to Georgia for himself and his servants. The trustees chartered the *Two Brothers* to transport the Highlanders to Georgia at a cost of five shillings each. McBean clearly experienced difficulties in recruiting the correct caliber of immigrant and claimed that the writings of Captain Mackay and the newspapers threatened his success. Hossack commended McBean to Verelst for his efforts and described the work as "a fatiguing task, some of them making their escape and others carried off by their friends who will not allow them to go abroad." By 28 May 1737 McBean admitted to Verelst that he was solving the problem in part by accepting prisoners. He wrote of Duncan McDonald, who had been delivered the previous day by Major Cunningham, the commandant of Fort George, but who had absconded. However, McBean was able to achieve his full complement of indentured servants by 24 June, when the ship sailed for Georgia; it arrived there on 20 November 1737. This consignment was also settled at Darien, and on arrival each indentured servant was issued a plaid, a short coat, short hose, two shirts, and two pairs of shoes by the trustees.

Meanwhile, another group of Highlanders was being assembled for shipment to Georgia. The original letter from Lachlan McLachlan and Donald Cameron was followed by an offer from Daniel McLachlan to Oglethorpe in 1737. McLachlan, as evidence of his good faith, offered to send one hundred Highlanders, at no cost to the trustees, provided they receive land grants. He indicated that unless the offer was accepted by 1 August the men would be sent to Carolina or elsewhere in America with subsequent Highland immigrants following. In June 1737 the trustees accepted McLachlan's offer. Consequently, a group of Highlanders, numbering at least sixty indentured servants, sailed from Inverness on

19 November 1737 and arrived in Georgia on 14 January 1738. These immigrants were also settled at Darien. Apart from such groups, there is evidence that individual Scots also settled in Georgia. For example, in October 1737 the trustees shipped arms, ammunition, and herrings from Scotland; on the same ship were three indentured servants.

These Highlanders were sent basically to protect the southern frontier and settled at Darien, temporarily named New Inverness. The site was selected by Oglethorpe and coincided with the site selected by Colonel John Barnwell in 1724. In 1723 100 "invalids" were sent from England to Charleston, South Carolina; subsequently, under Barnwell, they constructed Fort King George on the site later selected for Darien. One of the soldiers who died at Fort King George before it was abandoned in 1725 may have been a Scot; in 1729 Alexander Nisbet in Edinburgh was serviced as heir to Roger Whitley, a soldier in General Nicholson's Independent Company, who died at Fort King George.[128] The attack on Fort Moosa in 1740 caused a severe depletion in the number of Scots at Darien and led to a further 43 Highland recruits being shipped on the *Loyal Judith* on 21 September 1741. The Spanish threat to Georgia was terminated in 1742 at the Battle of Bloody Marsh, in which the Highlanders took a prominent part. The war with Spain formally ended in 1748, and the next year Oglethorpe's regiment was disbanded. Around 150 of the soldiers settled in Georgia, where they received land in the vicinity of Darien and Frederica; among them were a number of Scots, including Lieutenant Charles Mackay.[129]

One of the noteworthy features of the trustees' plan for the economic and social development of Georgia was the absence of slavery; this clearly distinguished Georgia from the British colonies to the north or those in the West Indies. The absence of slavery did, however, threaten the commercial viability of the Georgia planters, whose costs were being undercut by planters in other colonies. This contributed toward a drift from the land within Georgia and a drift of population northward to Carolina; for example, Hugh Stirling, who had settled on the Ogeechee River in 1734, abandoned his farm and moved to Savannah, and his brother

William settled in Carolina.[130] The absence of slavery during the regime of the trustees resulted in low economic growth rates and a decline of population. The Scots in Georgia were clearly split on the issue of slavery. Large-scale freeholders, such as Patrick Tailfer, who abandoned their plantations began to pressure the trustees while the Highlanders at Darien supported the status quo. In January 1739 the Highlanders at Darien petitioned Oglethorpe to retain the anti-slavery policy of the trustees, a policy that was retained until 1750, just before the colony was handed over to the Crown.[131]

Very shortly after Georgia was founded the incumbent Scots there founded a St. Andrews Club. On 30 November 1736 John Wesley preached to the Scottish community in Savannah.[132] The St. Andrews Club soon went into abeyance, however, with the migration of its more influential members to South Carolina in 1740. But those Scots who remained still celebrated St. Andrews Day, when they "assembled in the Square, diverting themselves at Cricket & C., with a Barrel of New York Ale placed near, to regale themselves as they saw fit."[133] In November 1764 the St. Andrews Society of Savannah was established as a charitable organization, and it continued functioning until 1782, when, as a strongly Loyalist organization, it disappeared out of political expediency, temporarily re-emerging in 1791.[134]

## *The West Indies*

During the seventeenth century there had been small groups of Scots scattered throughout the English, Dutch, and French West Indian islands. In the English islands the Scots were highly acceptable as indentured servants although any subsequent economic activities were subject to strict controls imposed by the Navigation Acts. Direct commerce with Scotland was banned, but an illicit trade existed. The political union of Scotland and England in 1707 gave unrestricted access to Scottish trade and settlement in the former English islands, which led to a gradual but steady immigration there from Scotland. The importance of the West Indies as a destination for Scottish immigrants at that time can be illus-

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The West Indies offered a source of raw materials, markets, and potential fortune to Scottish entrepreneurs during the eighteenth century. Scottish burgh councils attempted to create and expand economic links with the West Indian colonies, which in turn led to the settlement of Scots there. Glasgow, which was strategically well placed to benefit from such trade links, was early off the mark. This can be illustrated by the fact that during the first quarter of the eighteenth century it admitted thirty-six residents of the colonies in America and the West Indies as burgesses and guild brethren, far more than in any other period between the dates 1660 and 1800.[137] While a small number may have been admitted as a mark of esteem, the majority, most of whom bore Scots surnames, were admitted for sound economic reasons, particularly to stimulate trade between the colonies and the Clyde. Between 1707 and 1763 Glasgow admitted fourteen West Indian residents, five in South Carolina, four in New England, and thirteen in Virginia. In the same period, though mainly after 1740, Edinburgh admitted sixteen in the West Indies, four in South Carolina, four in Virginia, two in Pennsylvania, two in New York, and one in Quebec.[138] Aberdeen admitted one in New England, one in Virginia, and one in the West Indies.[139] Such an analysis indicates the relative importance of the West Indies to early-eighteenth-century Scotland. Once Scottish merchants and planters became established in Jamaica there flowed a steady stream of relatives, friends, and trading partners from Scotland, particularly from the Glasgow area. Some of these no doubt filled the places of others who had succumbed to disease or had returned home after making their fortunes. This connection between Glasgow and the Caribbean provided a channel through which raw materials and semiprocessed goods, such as sugar, cotton, and rum, would flow to Scotland and Scottish produce, such as linen and herring, would flow to the West Indies.

Immigration from Scotland to the West Indies expanded markedly throughout the eighteenth century. However immigration to the American mainland differed both in its structure and permanence. As far as can be ascertained there was a social imbalance among the Scots in the West Indies, where they were in the main planters, merchants, colonial administrators, tradesmen, and overseers. Immigrants to the mainland colonies represented every stratum of Scottish society, from the younger sons of the gentry to virtual peasants. The main reason for the difference in immigrants was slavery, which practically eliminated the demand for European semiskilled and unskilled immigrants. Most Scots who went to the mainland colonies settled permanently, whereas many of those who went to the West Indies settled only temporarily. Earlier, during a study of seventeenth-century immigration, it was noted that immigration to New England and Virginia tended to be in family units, whereas the typical immigrant to the West Indies was a single male indentured servant. It is also clear from surviving testaments and contemporary journals, such as the *Scots Magazine* or the *Gentleman's Magazine,* that many men left their families at home rather than subject them to the risk of disease in the West Indies, thus substantially weakening any commitment to permanent settlement there. Probably a substantial number of Scots who died in the West Indies did so prematurely through disease. The sizable but transient nature of Scottish settlement in the West Indies therefore was obscured by the continuous influx of young Scotsmen seeking fortunes as the century progressed.

During the period 1707–63 Antigua, Barbados, Montserrat, Nevis, Barbuda, St. Kitts, Anguilla, and Jamaica were British controlled; for part of the time St. Croix, Grenada, Tobago, St. Lucia, Martinique, and Dominica were also. Although most of these islands appear to be small and unimportant, they were the most productive of all British possessions at that time. In 1715, 1716, and 1717 the Leeward Islands, Barbados, and Jamaica each exported to Great Britain nearly as much as all the mainland colonies combined (Leewards £403,394, Barbados £364,577, Jamaica £332,266, mainland America £382,576). Although the majority of Scots in the West Indies were drawn there by economic opportunities, there were some who had been banished for criminal or political reasons. In fact they formed the largest single group of Scots there. Between 1707 and 1763 more than 600 Scots prisoners were transported to the West Indies and sold as indentured servants. In 1716 nearly 160 Jacobites, captured after the Siege of Preston, were shipped from Liverpool on board the *Scipio,* the *Africa,* the *Hockenhill,* and the *Two Brothers;* they landed on Antigua, Montserrat, St. Kitts, and Barbados. In the aftermath of the '45, at least 425 Jacobite prisoners of war were transported from Tilbury and Liverpool aboard the *Carteret,* the *St. George,* the *Frere,* the *Veteran,* and the *Johnson;* most were destined for Barbados and Jamaica, though a few went to Antigua.

Bureaucracy has bequeathed to posterity more information about such "immigrants" than about any others of that period. This is particularly true of the prisoners taken after the '45, when the records are quite comprehensive. They show name, age, occupation, rank and regiment, place of capture and imprisonment, place and date of shipment, names of ship and destination, and sometimes place of landing. The majority came from the Highlands and northeastern Scotland. Fifty Grants from Glen Moriston alone were shipped to the West Indies in 1747.[140] Details of prisoners aboard the *Veteran* are particularly interesting. On 28 June 1747, when bound for the Leeward Islands from Liverpool with a cargo of 150 Jacobite prisoners on board, it was attacked and captured in the vicinity of Antigua by the French privateer *Diamond.* The prisoners were taken to the French island of Martinique, where they were released by colonial authorities. The seizure of the *Veteran* benefited not only the Jacobites but also modern historians because the surviving documentation provides probably the best description of individual immigrants of the colonial period.[141] The manuscript lists not only the prisoners' ages, professions, and places of residence, but also their stature and personal features, such as "5′5″, slender, well made and healthy" or "5′7″, brown, strong and well made." Despite protests made by the British government to the French authorities, there is no evidence that these Scots were returned to British jurisdiction. Regrettably, a volcanic eruption on Martinique later in the eighteenth century destroyed the colonial records that might have thrown light on the subsequent lives of these Scots. However, among the colonial records kept in France are letters clearly indicating that a number of them enrolled in French regiments based in the Caribbean. Governor André Martin de Poinsable of Martinique reported to his superiors in Paris on 26 October 1748 that five of the Scots brought to the island by the *Diamond* had been court-martialed for deserting their military unit. He also stated that "there are others of the same nationality in several of our troop companies."[142] Although hundreds of such political prisoners were exiled to the West Indies, the Scottish courts banished only a few criminals specifically there. As the courts tended to banish convicts "to the American plantations" and depended on the willingness of merchant-skippers to transport them, many more felons may have ended their days as indentured servants in the West Indies.

Where then did these immigrants settle? Clearly the emphasis was on the West Indian islands under British control, but there were a number who chose to settle on the islands under Dutch or French jurisdiction.

During much of this period the Dutch controlled several islands in the Caribbean ranging from Curaçao, off the coast of what is now Venezuela, to certain of the Virgin and Leeward islands, specifically Saba, St. Croix, St. Eustatia, and St. Martin. Throughout the Dutch colonies there seems to have been a small number of Scotsmen employed as merchants, seamen, colonial administrators, and planters. In Curaçao a leading Scottish merchant was Alexander Currie, son of John Currie, a merchant in Linlithgow. He and his brother Walter settled in the Caribbean as merchants, Alexander in Curaçao and Walter in New Providence; Alexander died there in 1728, but his brother lived to return to Scotland.[143] The Aberdeen Propinquity Books contain reference to two Aberdonians who settled in early-eighteenth-century Curaçao: Robert Milne, a mariner who died in 1714, and John Moir, who settled in 1700.[144] There were Scots further north in St. Croix, one of the Virgin Islands. Jean Brown migrated from Aberdeen to Philadelphia in 1743, then moved to Barbados before settling in St. Croix in 1749, and Alexander Moir, a physician and Aberdeen graduate, settled there in the 1730s. Without doubt the most famous Scot on St. Croix was James Hamilton,[145] younger son of the family of Cambuskeith in Ayrshire, who immigrated from Scotland in 1750; he was the father of Alexander Hamilton, the American statesman. On St. Eustatia there were Scots merchants like William Moore from Dumfries and colonial administrators such as Isaac Lamont and John Lindsay. Among the Jacobites who sought sanctuary overseas after the failure of the '45 was John, son of James Ogilvie of Auchiries, a physician on St. Eustatia.[146] Also on nearby St. Martin was John Philp (1684–1746), born in Arbroath and the son of James Philp of Almerieclose, an ardent Jacobite and author of *The Grameid*. After 1716 John Philp settled in the Netherlands, where he entered the service of the New Dutch West India Company; and in 1728 he was appointed governor of St. Martin, where he later died. His most enduring memorial is the island's capital Philipsburg, founded by him in 1736.[147]

There is little evidence of a Scottish presence in the French West Indian colonies apart from the aforementioned shipload of Jacobites in 1747. The only other Scot known to have settled there was William, son of the Edinburgh lawyer William Cleland of Pedinnes, who immigrated around 1733 to Martinique.[148]

Barbados, which had been the most important English colony in the Caribbean during the seventeenth century, was rapidly overtaken by Jamaica as a destination for British immigrants in the late seventeenth century. Although Barbados continued to attract Scots during the eighteenth century, their numbers declined in both relative and absolute terms in favor of Jamaica. Possibly the most prominent Scots merchant in early-eighteenth-century Barbados was George Mackenzie, son of an Edinburgh writer, who arrived there in the late seventeenth century and died there in 1733.[149] Other notable Scots merchants in contemporary Barbados included Robert Allen around 1755[150] and George Law in 1751; the latter had links with Finlay, Watt, and Cation, merchants in Glasgow.[151] Thomas, son of James Finlay of Balchristie, who was admitted to the Society of Writers to the Signet in 1720, immigrated to Barbados, where he worked as an attorney until his death in 1760.[152] The Scots Episcopalian clergy, who were prominent in contemporary Virginia, were also active in the service of the Church of England in the West Indies. In Barbados the Reverend Alexander Deuchar, son of William Deuchar, Kemnay, was rector of St. Thomas until his death in 1732,[153] and Rev. Gilbert Ramsay from Birse was rector of Christ Church from 1714 until 1727.[154] Relatively few Scots reached Barbados at that time as indentured servants, an exception being John Taylor, an eighteen-year-old barber from Montrose, indentured in London in February 1720 for service in Barbados.[155] This switch of emphasis may indicate the relative decline in the economic importance of Barbados or, more likely, the alternative supply of labor in the form of slaves.

The Leeward Islands of St. Kitts, Nevis, Antigua, Montserrat, and Dominica were generally under British control during the period 1707–63. In the seventeenth century there had been a few Scots planters there such as Archibald Cochrane around 1689,[156] but 1707 saw the start of a steady influx of Scots, especially to Antigua. Although a few of these later immigrants, such as William Crookshanks from Banff[157] who died in St. Kitts during 1740, were described as planters or overseers, the majority of those identified were merchants based mainly on Antigua—David Fogo, Lewis Johnston, Stair Boyle of Inverkip, William Brown, Robert Colquhoun, Robert Glassford, Alexander Brodie, Alexander Cruikshank, and Patrick White, to name but a few.[158] Some seem to have been the younger sons of Scottish gentry sent to make their fortunes or possibly to restore the family's fortune (Alexander, son of Alexander Brodie of Windyhills in Banffshire; James Stormonth of Pitscandly; and Robert, son of Archibald Nisbet of Carfin).[159] Some Scottish merchants, such as Neil McNeill in

St. Kitts, acted as resident partners of Glasgow merchant houses importing sugar and cotton and exporting Scottish goods, as was happening in contemporary Virginia.[160] Neil McNeill had links with the Glasgow merchant Andrew Buchanan, as well as various Bristol merchants, while Robert Colquhoun, a Scots merchant in St. Kitts, had commercial links with Andrew Blackburn, merchant in Glasgow, and his brother John Blackburn, merchant in Norfolk, Virginia.[161] As elsewhere, the Scots seem to have grouped together with bonds of marriage or business, evidence for this often being found in their testaments. For example, Walter Pringle, a prominent Scots merchant in St. Kitts and son of Thomas Pringle, writer to His Majesty's signet, who died in St. Kitts in 1760, identifies a number of residents of the colony in his testament, all of whom seem to be Scots: Governor Robert Melville; Walter Simpson, a merchant; George Irvine, a planter; and Andrew Bruce, a merchant. Similarly, the only resident of St. Kitts mentioned in James Stormonth's will was Robert Colquhoun, a Scots planter.[162]

In the Leeward Islands, as elsewhere in much of British America, the established church, the Church of England, included among its number Scots Episcopalians such as the Reverend Dr. John Anderson, a clergyman in St. Kitts from 1717 to 1734, and the Reverend James Knox, who served at an unspecified parish around 1717.[163] Fothergill's *List of Emigrant Ministers to America, 1690–1811* identifies twenty Scots who were sent by the bishop of London to serve in Leeward Island parishes between 1707 and 1763.[164] Their presence was not, however, always welcome by the local residents. In 1726 the bishop of London received a request from the Leeward Islands not to send any more Scots than he had to since their reading of the service was displeasing to the congregations.[165] Several Scottish doctors immigrated to the Leewards. These included Charles Hamilton,[166] son of John Hamilton of Gilkerscleugh, a surgeon in Nevis prior to 1738; Alexander Fenton, a nineteen-year-old surgeon from Dundee, who sailed from London to Antigua as an indentured servant in 1738;[167] Thomas Fraser, a graduate of Glasgow University and physician in Antigua around 1749;[168] John Cunningham from Ayrshire, a surgeon in St. Kitts around 1740;[169] and Dr. James Shaw, in Montserrat around 1748.[170] A few Scots held office in the colonial administration. Hugh Fraser was the collector of customs in Antigua until his death at St. Johns during 1750;[171] Robert Donaldson, a former merchant in Aberdeen, was later deputy provost marshall of St. Kitts, dying there in 1725; and Patrick Crawford of Hisleside was governor of the Leeward Islands around 1733.[172] As noted earlier, a number of Scottish burghs were attempting to establish and develop economic links with the various colonies across the Atlantic by admitting colonial residents as burgesses, which then allowed them to distribute colonial produce within the burghs or Scottish produce within the colonies. Wherever possible a Scots-born colonial resident was chosen to be such a middleman, but on occasion a colonist of Scottish origin was selected. This was the case with Colonel William Wardrope, a planter and merchant of St. Kitts and a descendant of a Scot who had settled there in the 1660s; he was admitted a burgess and guildsbrother of Glasgow in 1720.[173] In 1757 Edinburgh admitted as burgesses and guildsbrethren James and William Doig of Antigua, who were descended from a leading Montrose family, the Doigs of Cookston.[174]

By the end of the seventeenth century Jamaica had risen to prominence as potentially the richest English colony in the Caribbean. Basically the wealth was generated by the sugar trade supplemented by other commercial activities, including slavery and the profits of piracy. By the close of the century there were several Scots there, arriving as prisoners, redemptioners, merchants, mariners, and refugees from Darien. Throughout the eighteenth century the steady influx of Scots converted this minority ethnic group into one of the main groups of Europeans on the island. H. E. Egerton in his *British Colonial Policy*[175] reckoned that by 1762 about one-third of the European inhabitants of Jamaica were Scots or of Scottish origin.

As elsewhere in the Caribbean the economy was based on slavery, which was a major factor influencing immigration from Scotland and elsewhere in Europe. The presence of slaves eliminated the demand for unskilled and semiskilled labor, which created an occupational and social imbalance among those choosing to settle on the island.

About sixty Scottish indentured servants sailed from London to Jamaica during the period. The majority of these seem to have been skilled tradesmen and may have been recruited in response to specific demand from Jamaica. Between 1707 and 1763 three surgeons, two schoolmasters, one smith, one cutler, one turner, one pewterer, three tailors, one weaver, one cordiner, one bricklayer, five carpenters, one laborer, one cooper, eight husbandmen, one cook, one groom, one barber, two distillers, one soapboiler, one printer, and twenty-one others with unspecified occupations, all originating in Scotland, were sent from England to work in Jamaica as indentured servants. A rare example of a Scottish indentureship contract for service in Jamaica is that of Thomas Watson, a mason and bricklayer from Kirkintilloch, who agreed to work in Jamaica for three years in 1763.[176]

For many prospective immigrants the indentured servant system was the best way to reach America because once their period of service had been fulfilled they could settle anywhere within the British colonies. In a number of cases, working in Jamaica was but one step in a two- or three-stage migration: Scotland to London, London to the West Indies, the West Indies to America. Take, for example, the case of James Cleland, a surgeon and apothecary from Kirk O'Shotts, who contracted in London in March 1735 to work in Jamaica for four years; he later settled in Charleston, South Carolina, where he worked as a physician until his death sometime prior to 1747.[177]

Indentured servants tended to be shipped to Jamaica in small groups, and there is no evidence of any organized large-scale immigration from Scotland to Jamaica apart from the Jacobites who were transported from London and Liverpool in 1747. On 28 July 1716 the *Elizabeth and Anne,* under Captain Edward Trafford, sailed from Liverpool with a cargo of 128 Jacobites, mainly Scots, captured after the Siege of Preston, bound for Virginia and Jamaica.[178] Captain Trafford seems to have been able to dispose of his human cargo in Virginia, so none of these Scots reached Jamaica. However, after the failure of the '45 several hundred Scots Jacobites were transported to the New World, including Jamaica, to be sold as indentured servants. On 31 March 1747 the *Carteret,* under

Captain Charles Friend, and the *St George,* under Captain George Snow, sailed from London to Jamaica with 130 rebel prisoners.[179] The transportation and disposal of these Jacobites was in the hands of Samuel Smith, a London merchant, who probably "sold" the prisoners for periods of seven years' service in Jamaica, after which they were free to settle anywhere in British America but could not return home. Some of them may have gone north to the American colonies with which Jamaica maintained a regular commercial intercourse. According to the Jamaican Shipping Records in the year 1753–54, twenty-eight vessels sailed to South Carolina alone.[180] Regrettably such records do not provide any details on passengers.

Probably many of the Jacobites who survived the ravages of climate and disease in Jamaica settled there permanently, integrating with the growing Scottish population of the island. According to the *Virginia Gazette* of 11 June 1767, "there are so many Scotch in Jamaica that they nearly possess two-thirds of the island." Probably the most numerous group of Scots in Jamaica was the merchants. As far as can be established they came from every part of Scotland. One of them, John Herries (1721–59), had worked as a merchant in Rotterdam and in India prior to settling in Jamaica during 1756.[181] The most prominent Scots merchants were John Rochead, Charles Gordon, Thomas Weir, Alexander Rouan, Hew Campbell, Andrew Campbell, Patrick Smith, George Chaplin, David Pitcairn, and Hugh Huddleston.[182] As elsewhere in the American colonies many of these merchants had links, both formal and informal, with merchants in Scotland, shipping sugar, rum, and cotton back to Glasgow for further processing and distribution. In exchange, Scottish merchandise was imported. The Scots were well represented among the Jamaican medical profession of the early eighteenth century by such men as James Baird, Alexander Brown, William Aitkenhead, David Millar, John Galbraith, Peter Aitchison, John Blair, Alexander Campbell, James Henderson, George Abercromby, and John Cochrane.[183] The merchants tended to concentrate in Kingston and in Port Royal, while the physicians, surgeons, and apothecaries were spread throughout the island.

Scottish planters and their overseers were relatively numerous in contemporary Jamaica and included Allen McLean, Lachlan McLean, and Daniel Campbell.[184] It is noticeable that a high proportion of them had connections with Argyll or the Clan Campbell, which may have been a direct result of the influence of John Campbell (1674–1740).[185] John Campbell of Inveraray sailed from Scotland with the Darien Expedition of 1699. He took refuge in Jamaica during 1700, settling in St. Elizabeth parish and becoming in due course a planter, a merchant, a militia officer, an assemblyman, and a member of the Council of Jamaica. The impression is that a number of Campbell lairds were persuaded to invest in Jamaican plantations and so sent their representatives, often younger sons, to manage them or to act as merchants or factors there. For example, Sir James Campbell settled on Grandvale Plantation, Westmoreland County, prior to 1744, as did his kinsmen Hew, Robert, and Andrew Campbell, all merchants and brothers-in-law of William Cunningham, a merchant in Glasgow.[186]

A few Scots who had been active in the Jacobite cause or at least strongly sympathetic fled to Jamaica after 1746. These included James Gedd, an Edinburgh printer; James Gordon from Banffshire, later a mahogany cutter; and Harry Wardlaw, an Edinburgh writer.[187] The close relationship between Jacobitism and Episcopalianism led some clergymen to leave Scotland for parishes in Jamaica; however, before being appointed by the bishop of London to parishes in Jamaica they were required to persuade him of their loyalty and their willingness to pray for King George. Between 1707 and 1763 the bishop of London sent over a dozen Scots, among them James Spence from Aberdeen, rector of St. Mary's prior to 1737, and his successor Alexander Macky, also from Aberdeenshire, who died in 1765.[188]

To some extent the Scots in Jamaica reflected their compatriots in contemporary Virginia in being well represented among the most influential groups of society—the church, the merchant class, and colonial officials. Three early-eighteenth-century governors of Jamaica were Scots: Henry Cunningham, George Haldane, and Robert Hunter. Lesser officials were Charles Douglas, the customs collector, and Alexander Innes and Alexander Forbes, both provost marshals.[189] Such influence clearly would have enhanced the position of the Scots among Jamaican society.

It is clear from available evidence that during the first half of the eighteenth century the Scots made significant contributions to the economic and social development of the West Indies and by midcentury had become a major component of the European population there, especially in Jamaica. There is no indication of any large-scale organized immigration from Scotland to the West Indies, but rather a steady stream of ambitious young Scots intent on making their fortunes. This migration had direct benefits for the Scottish economy, securing as it did vital supplies of raw material for Scottish industry and creating a market for Scottish goods like linen. Initially capital must have been outgoing from Scotland for the purchase and development of plantations; the resulting profits in turn financed industrial developments in Scotland. How much of the migration from Scotland to the West Indies represented a true and permanent movement of people rather than a temporary situation is difficult to assess. Many of the Scots who died there at a young age may have intended to return home in due course. This question is made more complex by intercolony migration, which was to intensify later in the century. What is clear is the massive contribution the Scots made to West Indian society and economy, especially in Jamaica.

# CHAPTER FOUR

# *Scottish America*

## *(1763–85)*

### *New England and the Middle Colonies*

These regions contained the three major ports of entry for commerce and immigrants throughout contemporary British North America: Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. The absence of reliable comprehensive immigration records prior to 1820 makes it difficult to be absolutely certain, but from the available records, admittedly incomplete, it seems reasonable to presume that the majority of immigrants into colonial New England and the Middle Colonies entered via these ports. The evidence of the Register of Emigrants certainly supports this belief.

The period under consideration experienced a rapid expansion of both population and frontiers of settlement. This probably began with the cessation of hostilities during 1760 and the formal ending of the Seven Years' War in 1763. The removal of the threat posed by the French and their Indian allies permitted the western boundaries of British settlement to be pushed back. In Pennsylvania, settlement, which had been mainly limited to the southeast corner of the colony, now expanded in the southwest, particularly along the Forbes Road. Settlers, both colonial and immigrant, traveled westward from Philadelphia through Carlisle, Shippensburg, and the Appalachians to Fort Pitt (now Pittsburgh) near the confluence of the Ohio, Alleghany, and Monongahela rivers, along which settlements were subsequently made. New York settlement, as elsewhere, was greatly influenced by the geography of the region.

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Dutch, and later British, settlements were established along the Hudson valley as far north as Albany and west along the Mohawk valley. Here settlers soon came in contact with the French pushing south from Quebec, with the result that further settlement and development of British New York were restricted until the end of the French and Indian War. During the 1760s and 1770s there was rapid colonization as far north as Lake Champlain, west along the south of the Mohawk valley, and east in what is now the state of Vermont. In New England, a rapid expansion of population occurred. The area of settlement formerly limited to Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and coastal Maine now expanded all along the Connecticut River and the Merrimack River valleys. The opportunities that such territorial expansion offered to entrepreneurs, land speculators and developers, merchants, ambitious farmers, and an army of associated tradesmen generated a massive movement to the west from both the coastal settlements of America and across the Atlantic.

There is no evidence of any large-scale settlement of Scots in New England during the period 1763 to 1785. The only exception to this was the settlement at Ryegate, now in Vermont but then in the colony of New York. According to the Register of Emigrants, only one shipload of immigrants left Scotland for New England at that time, thirty passengers on board the *Glasgow Packet* to Salem in 1775.[1] It is clear, however, that though there was no mass movement from Scotland to New England, there was a steady trickle of immigrants, presumably carried there on merchant vessels trading from Scotland to ports such as Boston. Records in Boston identify five vessels from the Clyde between 1763 and 1766—the *Diligence,* the *Douglas,* the *Stirling Castle,* the *Jenny,* and the *Lovely Betsy*—which disembarked a total of only forty-three passengers.[2] These immigrants included merchants, carpenters, laborers, millwrights, shoemakers, flax dressers, dyers, a schoolmaster, a printer, and two image makers. The Membership Roll of the Scots Charitable Society in Boston is extant for the period 1763 to 1775; thereafter records were not maintained until 1787.[3] Membership was open to all Scots and those of Scottish origin, and its functions were those of a friendly society. During the period

1763 to 1775, ninety-nine new members were admitted to the society, of whom ninety-four were natives of Scotland. In every case place of origin is quite specifically stated, and an examination of the roll indicates that Boston was receiving immigrants from virtually every part of Scotland from the Borders to the Orkney Islands. The only area underrepresented was the Highlands, there being only a handful of Scots from the periphery. Regrettably, any occupational analysis would be based on incomplete data as this was given in only fifteen cases: two physicians, three printers, two shipmasters, two tailors, one bookseller, one chairmaker, one mariner, one gardener, one baker, and one shoemaker.

Reverend Dr. John Witherspoon, the Scots-born president of Princeton College, under whose influence Scottish colonists were settled at Pictou, Nova Scotia, was also instrumental in the settlement of Scottish immigrants at Ryegate and Barnet, Vermont (then in the colony of New York). By 1770, changing social and economic conditions in the Lowlands of Scotland, such as substantial increases in farm rents and unemployment, created the conditions necessary to generate a relatively large-scale emigration to America of farmers and related unemployed artisans. They organized planned collective immigration by forming joint-stock companies with the object of settling together in the New World. Two of the most prominent contemporary companies engaged in this enterprise were the Scots-America Company of Farmers and the United Company of Farmers for the Shires of Perth and Stirling, of which the former was the more highly developed and successful.[4] The Scots-America Company of Farmers was established at Inchinnan, Renfrewshire, during 1773 by 138 men and women, of whom 40 were tradesmen, 10 servants, a few merchants, and the rest farmers. The United Company was formed in 1774 at Arnprior, Stirlingshire, by a group of farmers. In both cases the societies sent agents to America to reconnoiter suitable sites for settlement. The Scots-America Company dispatched David Allan and James Whitelaw to Philadelphia in March 1773, and over the following summer they explored a number of possibilities, particularly on the frontier regions of the Middle Colonies and the Chesapeake. In October 1773 they opted to purchase land in Ryegate, then in

Gloucester County, New York (now Caledonia County, Vermont), from the Reverend Dr. Witherspoon, who was in partnership with the Pagan family of Glasgow and New York as land speculators. The immigration of members of the society to Ryegate began in 1774 with a group sailing from Greenock to New York aboard the *Matty*. Others followed in the *Glasgow Packet*, which sailed from Greenock to Salem, New England, in April 1775. The United Company sent Alexander Harvey to locate and purchase suitable land for settlement by members of the company. Harvey decided on Barnet, south of Ryegate in what is now Caledonia County, Vermont. In his search for land Harvey also surveyed locations throughout northeastern America. This project was in its infancy when the American Revolution broke out, leading to a suspension of immigration from Great Britain. The Register of Emigrants identifies a number of farmers from Stirlingshire and the surrounding area who left Scotland bound for New York and, presumably, the settlement at Barnet aboard the *Matty* in May 1774 and the *Monimia* in May 1775. The above projects represent the two most ambitious schemes devised in Scotland for immigration to colonial America.

New York, as well as being one of the main ports of entry for immigrants, was also one of the greatest commercial cities of colonial America. From New York merchants traded along the American coastline to the Caribbean and beyond, and across the Atlantic via Great Britain to Europe. Colonial produce was shipped to New York or brought down the Hudson River for transshipment overseas. For over a century the city had attracted Scots merchants, many of whom after 1756 were members of the St. Andrews Society of New York. This society was formed in 1756 as a friendly society based on an earlier organization, the Scots Society, formed in 1744. Membership was limited to Scots or those of Scottish descent. Between 1756 and 1774 260 members were admitted to the society; included were merchants, ship masters, soldiers, physicians, and clergymen. Among these were Rev. Dr. John Witherspoon and Lewis Morris, two of the signatories to the Declaration of Independence. Some members were Loyalists who chose to leave New York during or after the revolution. John Cumming moved to London, William Pagan moved to New Brunswick, and David Sproat returned to his native Kirkcudbright.[5] Other Scottish merchants remained in New York after 1783 and were joined by a steady influx of Scots merchants from elsewhere in America and from Scotland. Among those who chose to stay were Thomas Blane; George Dunbar; Robert and John Murray;[6] Patrick, Robert, and William Falconer; Duncan Ellice;[7] William Seton; and Thomas Galbraith.[8] As a major Atlantic port, New York was the base from which a number of Scottish ship masters operated both before and after the revolution; some examples are Lachlane McQuary McGuire from Campbelltown,[9] James Lamb, William Ritchie from Paisley, David Masterton,[10] and William Fullerton and John Learmonth from Edinburgh.[11]

By the early 1760s, Scots and their descendants were to be found throughout the region, from Albany on the northern perimeter down the Hudson valley to New York and the farmlands of New Jersey. Although immigration from Scotland was an ongoing process throughout the period, there was a time of intense immigration and settlement from 1760 to 1775. This period of rapid population expansion through immigration coincided with the end of the French and Indian War, when former soldiers were strategically settled in the Mohawk valley of northern New York. A number of Scots, former officers in such units as the Seventy-eighth (Fraser Highlanders) Regiment, the Forty-second (Black Watch) Regiment, the Seventy-seventh (Montgomery Highlanders) Regiment, and the Royal Regiment of Foot (The Royal Scots) received land grants, usually amounting to five thousand acres.[12] As a condition, those granted the land were generally required to settle proportionate numbers of families thereon within a given period of years, and in practice they usually attracted immigrants from their own places of origin. Take the case of Sir William Johnson, a Scotch-Irishman and superintendent of Indian affairs in the Northern District of New York from 1762 to 1774. In turn he recruited settlers from Ulster, New England, England, and finally Scotland. Johnson's initial landholding in the Mohawk valley was a twenty-thousand-acre land grant received for services rendered during the French and Indian War.[13] By 1779, when it was confiscated by the state of New York as Loyalist property, it had grown to two hundred thousand acres. This land lay in Tryon County to the north and west of the Mohawk River and specifically near Johnstown in an area known as the Kingsborough Patent. As early as 1764 Johnson was settling Scottish Highlanders on the Kingsborough Patent, mostly former soldiers of the Fraser Highlanders such as Hugh Fraser of Brightmoney.[14] This, in turn, generated interest among their kinsmen in Inverness-shire, especially the MacDonells and related families. The single most important fact about them was that they were Roman Catholics who had provided substantial assistance to the Jacobite cause in 1745. As a consequence, they had lost their power and influence and were increasingly under siege culturally by an encroaching, alien English-speaking Protestant community. Migration seemed to them a panacea that would provide them with an opportunity to re-establish their position and hopefully to maintain their religion. In August 1773 more than four hundred Highlanders from Glengarry, Glenmoriston, Glen Urquhart, and Strathglass under the leadership of four Highland gentlemen of the clan MacDonell set sail from Fort William aboard the *Pearl* destined for New York. The leaders of these immigrants were John MacDonell of Scotus, who had been educated in Rome and who later fought in the Spanish army and as a Jacobite, and his cousins, the brothers Alexander MacDonell of Aberchalder, John MacDonell of Leek, and Allan MacDonell of Collachie.[15] The members of this group of Highlanders settled mainly in the Mohawk valley, largely on the lands of Sir William Johnson. The Rent Roll of Kingsborough identifies those who settled on Johnson's land.[16] Evidently each family occupied one hundred acres there at an annual rent of £6 3s. During the revolution these Highlanders were unanimously Loyalist. This may have been caused by the memory of the brutal treatment endured by rebel Highlanders after the failure of the Jacobites in 1746. On the other hand, they may have felt that the British government would be more sympathetic to their religious beliefs than would the government of an overwhelmingly Protestant United States. During the revolution the King's Royal Regiment of New York, Butler's Rangers, and to a lesser extent the Eighty-fourth

(Royal Highland Emigrants) Regiment were largely[17] composed of men, often Highland settlers, from Tryon and Albany counties. After the Peace of 1783 they and their families settled in Glengarry, Canada, to be joined in 1786 by five hundred immigrants from Knoydart, under the leadership of Father Alexander MacDonell, who had sailed from Greenock on board the *McDonald*.[18] Among those Highland Loyalists from upper New York who fought for the British and later settled in Canada were John MacDonell of Scotus, an officer in the Royal Highland Emigrants who later settled in Cornwall, Upper Canada; John MacDonell, also an officer in the Eighty-fourth Regiment and later speaker of the Parliament of Upper Canada;[19] and Alexander MacDonell, an officer in the King's Royal Regiment of New York, who settled in Charlottenburg.

The Argyle Patent lying to the north of Albany, which had been granted to the survivors of a group of Highlanders from Islay who originally landed in New York in 1739, continued to attract additional Scottish settlers, including a number of discharged soldiers from the Seventy-seventh (Montgomery Highlanders) Regiment. Although the Scots there were overwhelmingly from the Highlands, especially Argyllshire, they differed from those along the Mohawk in that they were Protestants and during the American Revolution experienced divided loyalties.

Elsewhere in the Province of New York there were Scots who had originally arrived to fight in the French and Indian War and who had chosen to settle there after the Peace of Paris. At the outbreak of the revolution they tended to identify with the Loyalist cause.[20] Some of these Scots were William Brown, a former officer in the Sixtieth (Royal American) Regiment who had settled in Manchester County, New York; William Farquhar, a former army surgeon, later a physician in New Jersey and New York; Donald McLean, lately a surgeon in Montgomery's Highlanders, then resident in Greene County, New York; and William Sutherland,[21] formerly a sergeant of the Seventy-seventh Regiment, who had received a land grant near Fort Ticonderoga in Charlotte County, New York. Some took an active part in the Loyalist cause and afterward settled in Canada; for example, Alexander Campbell, a former officer in the Black Watch, settled in Schenectady as a merchant during the 1760s but in 1785, after the revolution, moved to Canada.[22] On the other hand, a number of Scots fought for the American side. James Christie, an Edinburgh medical graduate who landed in Philadelphia during 1775, served as an army surgeon and later became a merchant in New York. John McCarr from Newton Stewart, a tailor in New York, also served the Patriot cause.[23] A number of Scots in New York who were Loyalists decided to return home; John Simpson was one such.[24]

The expanding economy and society of colonial and postcolonial New York and New Jersey offered great opportunities to ambitious immigrants from Scotland and elsewhere. There was a constant demand for clergymen as communities spread and developed throughout those colonies. Among the Scots who served as clergymen there were Presbyterians such as Archibald Laidlie and Charles Nisbet.[25] Laidlie, from Kelso, was an Edinburgh graduate who had been a minister of the Dutch Reformed church in the Netherlands before moving to New York in 1764. During the revolution he was an American military chaplain. Charles Nisbet, another Edinburgh graduate and minister of Montrose, moved to America in 1786 to become president of Dickinson College. There were also Episcopalians such as George Panton and William Preston. Panton, once a schoolmaster in Jedburgh and New York, became a clergyman in Trenton, New Jersey, in 1772.[26] Preston, from Edinburgh, a graduate of Balliol College, Oxford, was an Episcopalian missionary in New Jersey from 1767 to 1781.[27] However, the most famous of all was the Reverend Dr. John Witherspoon, an Edinburgh graduate who, after working as a parish minister in Beith and Paisley, accepted an invitation to become president of Princeton University in 1786. In 1776, as delegate to the Continental Congress, he signed the Declaration of Independence.[28]

Scottish schoolmasters could be found throughout the region; some of them combined teaching with some other function. James Tod was both a teacher and a printer in Princeton, New Jersey, and later in New York;[29] Alexander Murray, a graduate of King's College, Aberdeen, was a schoolmaster and missionary in

Pennsylvania.[30] Other examples are Peter Wilson, a graduate of St. Andrews, in New York and Thomas Gordon in Elizabeth, New Jersey.[31] Probably the most distinguished of all the Scottish physicians working in New York during the eighteenth century was Peter Middleton, a graduate of Edinburgh and St. Andrews. Middleton settled in New York during 1730 and, after service as surgeon general of the provincial forces during the French and Indian War, was allocated five thousand acres in New York. In 1764 he acted as one of the trustees of the Argyle Patent, and in 1767 he founded a medical school, working there as professor of physiology and pathology. He sided with the British during the revolution and lived for a time in Bermuda before returning to New York, where he died in 1781.[32]

The Register of Emigrants reveals that about three-quarters of those who immigrated from Scotland to the Middle Colonies and New England during the period 1773 to 1775 were destined for New York. The register identifies a dozen vessels that left Greenock, Kirkcudbright, Stranraer, and Stornoway for New York. At the same time only approximately two dozen Scots sailed via English ports for Philadelphia, New York, and Boston. In all nearly 1,900 immigrants are known to have left Scotland for these ports in northeast America. This is, of course, the minimum figure since the register is clearly not comprehensive.

Some of the immigrants sailed as fare-paying passengers while the less affluent generally went as indentured servants. The names of some Scots indentured servants can be found in the pages of contemporary colonial newspapers among the advertisements for runaway servants: Hugh McDiarmid, a twenty-five-year-old Highland tailor, absconded from James Moore in Schenectady; John McCready, a thirty-year-old blacksmith from Whithorn who immigrated on the *Golden Rule* in 1774, absconded from Patrick McMiking later that year.[33] In Philadelphia there exists a Register of Indentures for the years 1771 to 1773, which identifies both natives and immigrants. Of those listed 115 are Scots. It is interesting to note that almost all the Scots surnames can be classified as being of Highland origin, and of these three predominate: 22 McLeods, 16 McKays, and 14 McDonalds.[34] These people may well represent one or more shiploads of Highland immigrants known to have sailed to America in the years before the Register of Emigrants was compiled. Men and women were indentured for varying lengths of time (which may give a clue to their ages) to people mainly in Philadelphia and the surrounding counties of Pennsylvania and New Jersey.

The Register of Emigrants, which indicates a limited degree of Scots immigration by way of English ports, does not include the then relatively heavy immigration from Ireland. There is, however, some indication in other sources of Scots immigrating to America via Ireland. John McMillan, from Arran, lived in County Monaghan for several years prior to departing for Washington County, New York, in 1764;[35] Andrew McFarlane, from Loch Sloy, moved via Ulster to Schenectady prior to 1772;[36] and William Ramsay, another Scot, sailed via Londonderry to Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, in 1768.[37]

Philadelphia, the most populous city in contemporary British America, was a major commercial center, trading with the colonies along the coast from the West Indies to New England and across the Atlantic to the British Isles and Africa. By the 1760s many merchants in Philadelphia had turned their attention to land speculation and were engaged in processing incoming immigrants, forwarding them south along the Great Wagon Road to Georgia and the Carolinas and west along the Forbes Road to Ohio. Land grants on the frontier often required a certain number of settlers within a particular period; otherwise the land was forfeit to the Crown. Although settlers recruited in Philadelphia usually went to the frontiers of Pennsylvania or to the southern colonies, there is an instance of a group being sent north by sea to what is now Canada, to the Philadelphia Company's land grant in Nova Scotia. This particular project included Scots among its promoters and among those settled on the land grant. During the 1760s the British government, wishing to develop Nova Scotia, allocated blocks of land there on condition that settlers be introduced within a given period. A group of Philadelphia-based entrepreneurs was granted two hundred thousand acres lying to the west of Pictou, Nova Scotia. The Philadelphia Company, as the group of land speculators was known, was later taken over in part by three Scots, John and William Pagan and the Reverend Dr. John Witherspoon. The first attempt at settlement in Pictou occurred in 1767 and was organized from Philadelphia. This venture clearly attracted little interest in Philadelphia among potential settlers; only six families could be persuaded to sail from there to Pictou. Two of these families were Scottish and already settled in Maryland: Robert Patterson, a surveyor from Renfrew and a former British army sutler, and his family, and John Rogers and his family from Glasgow.[38] The failure of the Philadelphia Company to attract sufficient colonists from within America required a change of policy if the company was to fulfill the terms of its land grant. The required colonist number was not reached until the early 1770s, when the Glasgow-based Pagan family and the Reverend Dr. Witherspoon stimulated immigrants to sail directly to Pictou from Scotland on board the *Hector*. The Pagans were represented in North America by three brothers, the most prominent of whom, William, was a merchant in New York, later in Falmouth, Maine, moving, as a Loyalist, to St. John, New Brunswick, in 1783.[39]

The St. Andrews Society of Philadelphia, formed in 1749, is one of the oldest Scottish societies in America. As elsewhere, its members were Scots or of Scottish origin, and it operated as a friendly society. The society's members included many of the city's leading merchants, clergymen, physicians, and lawyers.[40] The founder and first president was Thomas Graeme from Perthshire, associate justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania (1731–50). However, the two most famous members were James Wilson and John Witherspoon, signatories to the Declaration of Independence in 1776. James Wilson, born at Ceres and educated at St. Andrews and Glasgow, arrived in Philadelphia during 1766 and, after a brief spell on the staff of the College of Philadelphia, was admitted to the bar of Philadelphia. John Witherspoon's career, already touched on, had close parallels with that of Wilson; both were Scots graduates who had arrived in America to take up academic posts, later becoming delegates to the Continental Congress and signing the Declaration of Independence. Thomas McKean, also a member of the society who signed the Declaration, was a Scotch-

Irishman. Between 1763 and 1775, 147 men were admitted to membership in the St. Andrews Society of Philadelphia. They came from a range of occupations: Robert Aitken from Dalkeith was the publisher of the *Pennsylvania Magazine,* the first journal in Philadelphia; Thomas Leiper from Strathaven was a tobacco merchant; John McAllister from Glasgow was an optical manufacturer; William Marshall from Fife was a Presbyterian minister; William Young from Irvine was a bookseller. During the revolution membership of the society was divided. One of the key figures in the American army during the war was Arthur St. Clair, a native of Thurso who had arrived in America as an officer of the Sixtieth (American) Regiment in 1758. After the French and Indian War he settled in Pennsylvania as a colonial civil servant and was among the early revolutionaries. His victory at the Battle of Princeton led to his appointment as major general of the American army.

It is obvious, from a range of sources, that Scottish immigration to the northeastern colonies of America was significant in relative terms during the years before the revolution. Although some of this immigration was in line with a gradual expansion of the Scottish mercantile community in the port towns of America from the late seventeenth century, it is clear that there was a far more significant numerical increase of Scots on the frontiers. Discharged soldiers strategically settled there were joined by large groups of Highlanders and Lowland farmers.

## *The Chesapeake*

The tobacco trade, of paramount importance to the economy of Scotland and particularly Glasgow in the years before the American Revolution, was the dominant force generating migration from Scotland to the Chesapeake during that period. Glasgow-based merchant firms established a system of chain stores in Virginia and Maryland. There they offered goods, money, and credit to plantation owners in return for supplies of tobacco. Of necessity the Glasgow-based tobacco firms employed factors, storekeepers, and ancillary workers at their stores throughout the region, and by choice they selected Scots, generally from the Glasgow area, to

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An interesting insight into the workings of a small-scale tobacco merchant firm terminated prematurely by the American Revolution is provided by documents in the Register of Deeds of the Court of Session in Edinburgh. These documents pertain to the firm of Boyd and Brown; partners in the firm were Thomas Brown and Dr. Spencer Boyd of Penkill, a Loyalist who returned to Scotland during 1782 from his base of operations in King and Queen County, Virginia.[43] The most comprehensive study of Glasgow and its tobacco trade is to be found in T. M. Devine's *Tobacco Lords*. Among the more prominent Scots active in the Chesapeake area in the years just before the Declaration of Independence were Robert Gilmor, who settled in Oxford, Maryland, in 1767, later trading between Baltimore and Amsterdam;[44] James Glassford, a member of a leading Glasgow merchant family who immigrated via Quebec and Boston to Norfolk, Virginia, where he was in partnership with Neil Jamieson;[45] John Hook, who originally sailed from Glasgow as an indentured servant to William and James Donald, merchants based in Bedford County, Virginia;[46] Neil Jamieson, probably the single most successful Scottish merchant in prerevolutionary Virginia, later an underwriter with Lloyds of London;[47] Zachariah Campbell, who settled initially in Vienna, Maryland, during 1763 before moving to Fredericksburg, Virginia;[48] and Andrew Sproule, a merchant in Norfolk, Virginia.[49]

The recent publication *A Scottish Firm in Virginia, 1767–1777*[50] provides an excellent insight into the lifestyle of the Scottish merchants and their factors in late colonial Virginia, as well as supplying information on the internal workings of one of the leading Scottish tobacco merchant firms of that era, William Cunninghame and Company. The vast majority of the Scottish merchants and their factors in Virginia and Maryland were Loyalists during the American Revolution and chose to leave America, either to return home or to settle elsewhere within the British colonies in North America or the West Indies. Neil Jamieson moved to London; Ninian Menzies, formerly a merchant in Richmond, Virginia, settled in St. Eustatia;[51] Hugh Dean, a merchant in Somerset County, Maryland, settled in the Bahamas;[52] and Anthony Roxburgh, a merchant in Nansedmund, Virginia, moved to St. Augustine, Florida, in 1780.[53] However, a few Loyalists, including Robert Buchanan, a merchant in Annapolis, Maryland, from 1764 to 1776, returned there after the revolution.[54] It is clear that, although many Scots Loyalists left the Chesapeake during the revolution, several chose to remain in America. Some may be identified through their deeds of attorney.[55] James Burn, son of an Edinburgh merchant, was in Baltimore around 1782; Norman and William Bruce, from Edinburgh, were in Washington County, Maryland, around 1785; the Carmichael family were in Queen Anne County, Maryland, around 1785; and the Ballentine family were in Westmoreland County, Virginia, around 1785.

Economic and social opportunities in the region of the Chesapeake attracted many from the professional classes in Scotland, especially clergymen, physicians, and teachers, as well as a number of craftsmen and civil servants. Scottish university graduates were particularly evident in Virginia and Maryland during the 1760s and 1770s. Some arrived as clergymen and others came as schoolmasters, later becoming parish ministers. The Church of

England, as the established church in colonial Virginia, offered opportunities for Scots Episcopalians, many of whom were arts graduates of Aberdeen. Although some may have left America during the revolution, others remained in their Virginia parishes. Among those remaining were Alexander Balmaine, a graduate of St. Andrews, clergyman at Copley, Virginia, from 1772 to 1820;[56] George Goldie, a clergyman in Maryland from 1766 to 1791;[57] and John Stephen, a clergyman in Tobago from 1764 to 1765, thereafter in All Saints parish, Maryland, from 1769 to 1784.[58] The Reverend Alexander Balmaine began in Virginia as tutor to the prestigious Lee family of Virginia then was appointed rector of Augusta parish, served as chaplain to the Thirteenth Virginia Regiment during the revolution, and finally was the incumbent of Fredericksburg parish, Virginia, until his death in 1820.[59] Some Scots arrived as schoolmasters hoping for employment as parish ministers; one such was David Duff in Portobacco, Maryland, in 1772.[60] Other Scots teachers were licensed for the ministry of the Church of England by the bishop of London prior to immigration; for example, Donald McKinnon, an Aberdeen graduate and a former tutor to the family of McLean of Coll, was sent as a clergyman to Prince William County, Virginia, during 1767.[61] Not all the Scots schoolmasters and tutors to be found in colonial Maryland or Virginia were the products of the Scottish universities; some had received a less academic education in Scotland before commencing employment as educators in the colonies. Probably the best known of these was John Harrower, whose journal provides a fascinating insight into the life of a schoolmaster and indentured servant in late colonial Virginia. In 1773 he left his failed business in Lerwick, main burgh of the Shetland Islands, in search of employment. He arrived in London virtually destitute and, unable to find work, soon contracted to work as an indentured servant in Virginia as a means of escaping unemployment and poverty. In February 1774 John Harrower sailed from London on board the *Planter*, bound for Virginia and life as an indentured servant and tutor to the family of Colonel William Daingerfield. In Virginia, Harrower was permitted by his master to tutor other children for a fee. In this way he hoped to finance the passage of his wife and children from the Shetland Islands to Virginia; however, his plans had not been realized when he died prematurely in 1777.[62]

The community around the shores of Chesapeake Bay also offered career opportunities for a growing number of Scottish doctors and physicians. Edinburgh's medical school, one of the leading centers of medical education and research in contemporary Europe, attracted young men from all over the English-speaking world and trained more personnel than Scotland could employ. Many chose to settle in the colonies of Virginia and Maryland, where an ever-increasing population and a buoyant economy provided an effective demand for their services. The majority probably intended to settle permanently although the American War of Independence caused some to abandon their colonial practices. Scottish physicians seem to have been in practice throughout Virginia and Maryland, but they tended to be centered in the main cities and ports. These included Alexander Strachan from Edinburgh, in Petersburg, Virginia, around 1772;[63] Dr. James Currie, from Annandale, in Richmond, Virginia, around 1785,[64] and Dr. Colin Riddoch, possibly from Perth, in Hanover County, Virginia, around 1774.[65] Some of these Scottish physicians actively supported the American cause, as did Dr. James Craik from Dumfries, who settled in Virginia after army service during the French and Indian War and later served in the American army, and Dr. William Brown from Haddington, who was appointed physician general of the United States prior to 1780.[66] Others supported the king during the struggle for independence; John McCaw, from Newton Stewart, was a surgeon apothecary in Norfolk, Virginia, and a Loyalist militia officer who died in New York in 1779.[67] The Chesapeake, as one of the more socially and economically developed regions, attracted a wide range of Scottish tradesmen, including coopers, tanners, weavers, tailors, millers, cordiners, rope makers, and saddlers. The number of highly skilled craftsmen included Robert Scott, a watchmaker; John Rowsay, a goldsmith and jeweler; and John Shaw and Alexander Chisolm, partners in an Annapolis firm of cabinetmakers and armorers.[68]

The Register of Emigrants, 1773–1775, which has been particularly useful as an aid to identify the volume and destination of immigrants from Scotland to the American colonies, is clearly incomplete as far as Virginia and Maryland are concerned. It contains no evidence of any immigration from Scotland to the Chesapeake although obviously substantial traffic occurred, especially from Clyde ports. Even the reports from the various English customs officers identify only fifty-eight Scots sailing from the English ports of London, Whitehaven, Hull, and Bristol to the Chesapeake.

On the other hand, there is clear evidence of a steady flow of convicts from Scotland destined for Virginia and Maryland. "Immigrants" can be identified from the records of the High Court of Justiciary. Among the criminals transported to Virginia at that time was Donald Elder from the parish of Reay, Caithness.[69] Elder and others were found guilty of looting a shipwrecked vessel on the coast of Caithness and banished to the plantations during 1772. (This was the case of shipwreck looting referred to by James Hogg, tacksman of Borlum.) Elder was disembarked from the *Donald* in Port James, Virginia, and sold as an indentured servant. Although incomplete records make it impossible to accurately estimate the numbers involved, approximately one hundred convicts were shipped from Scotland to the Chesapeake between 1763 and 1776. In practice, merchants, such as Patrick Colquhoun in Glasgow, would transport small groups of convicts from Scottish prisons for sale in America, receiving an advance of the shipping cost on embarkation in Scotland and the balance on the production of a landing certificate issued by the port officer of the landing colony. The cost of shipment was thus paid for by the government, while the profit to the merchant came from the money raised by the auction of the convicts in America. Some of those banished to America were guilty of what would now be considered petty theft; however, the majority were transported for crimes such as infanticide, robbery, rape, forgery, and assault. On occasion, rather than spend a long term in a prison which because of the conditions therein would in effect have been a life sentence, convicts petitioned the authorities to be sent to the colonies. This subject is dealt with at length by A. Roger Ekirch in his article "The Transportation of Scottish Criminals to America during the Eighteenth Century."[70]

Among the Scots criminals sent to Virginia was James MacCourtrie, a servant lad from Kirkcudbright who was found guilty of theft in Dumfries during 1770 and banished to the plantations for fourteen years. In July 1771 he arrived at Port Oxford, Maryland, from Glasgow on board the *Crawford* and was sold there as an indentured servant.[71] The *Virginia Gazette,* the *Maryland Gazette,* and the *Pennsylvania Gazette* advertised for the return of runaways; among these were Ebenezer Donaldson from Rufus Ferry on the Pamunkey River, Virginia, in 1770; Alexander Cuthbert, a Perth bricklayer who had immigrated to Virginia via London in 1767 and had been sold to W. Black, Prince George County, Virginia;[72] and James McKey, servant to Robert Porter, Johnson's Ferry, Cecil County, Maryland, in 1776.[73] Colonial newspapers also bear witness to immigration from Scotland in advertisements proclaiming forthcoming sales of indentured servants. Take, for example, the *Virginia Gazette,* Number 845, of 30 July 1767, which contained the following: "Just arrived in the ship *Lyon* [Robert Mudie] from Leith, a parcel of choice indented men and women servants, any of them are valuable tradesmen viz tailor, blacksmith, joiners, weavers and a goldsmith, also laborers and waiting men. Most of the women servants have been used in repairing and the management of flax also sewery and housework. The sale begins at Leeds Town on the Rappahannock on Tuesday 11 August next."

As far as can be established from the available data, the major encouragement to migration from Scotland to Maryland and Virginia in the years before the American Revolution was the tobacco trade. The vast majority of Scots who have been identified as having settled on the Chesapeake in the period between the close of the French and Indian War and the Declaration of Independence were directly involved in the tobacco trade as merchants, factors, and storekeepers; were servants of those in the tobacco trade; or serviced the needs of that community as clergymen, physicians, teachers, and tradesmen. The region was relatively well developed; and since much of the accessible land had already been allocated, there was little incentive for land-hungry farmers from Scotland to settle on the Chesapeake. Instead, they went to Carolina in considerable numbers. After 1783 the influence of Glasgow was severely weakened although not broken; henceforth, although Scottish capital and expertise were still in demand, the Virginians would increasingly rely on their own indigenous manpower to operate the tobacco industry. Even before the revolution the power and influence of the Scots merchants in Virginia were resented in certain quarters, and that dislike grew when the Scots merchants supported the Loyalist side during the War of Independence. In all probability the Scottish influence was at its maximum around 1770; after 1783 immigration from Scotland to the Chesapeake diminished in favor of other colonies.

## *The Carolinas*

After the failure of the Jacobite cause in 1746, the British government followed an active policy designed to destroy the traditional social structure of the Highlands and to integrate it as fully as possible with the British economy and society. The resulting weakening of the patriarchal position of clan chiefs hastened the adoption of commercial attitudes that had existed prior to the final Jacobite rebellion. Thereafter clan chiefs everywhere attempted to run their estates in line with the modern techniques that were being introduced from the south, including longer leases and higher rents for tenant farmers. An inspection of *The Scots Peerage* will reveal how the clan chiefs and Highland landowners were intermarrying with Lowland and even English landed families from the seventeenth century onward.[74] John Campbell of Glenorchy, later earl of Breadalbane, married Mary, daughter of Henry Rich, earl of Holland, in London during 1657; and John Murray, earl of Atholl, married Amelia, daughter of James Stanley, earl of Derby, in 1659. This intermarriage led to absentee landlordism, with clan chiefs resident in London and Edinburgh increasingly neglecting their traditional roles and becoming rentiers. The economic and social opportunities offered, particularly in the area of commerce, led the younger sons of Highland landed families to move to urban centers. In eighteenth-century Glasgow the leading merchants included Colquhouns, Donalds, Buchanans, and Campbells. Clan chiefs traditionally measured their power in the number of fight-was severely weakened although not broken; henceforth, although Scottish capital and expertise were still in demand, the Virginians would increasingly rely on their own indigenous manpower to operate the tobacco industry. Even before the revolution the power and influence of the Scots merchants in Virginia were resented in certain quarters, and that dislike grew when the Scots merchants supported the Loyalist side during the War of Independence. In all probability the Scottish influence was at its maximum around 1770; after 1783 immigration from Scotland to the Chesapeake diminished in favor of other colonies.

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> They were roused from that servile state and former dependence on those who seemed no longer to treat them with levity and attachment, that a spirit of emigration has now got among them which in a few years will carry the inhabitants of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland into North America, disdaining to become possessers of farms in the low countries and follow the customs of its inhabitants which they hold in contempt, they launched into a new world breathing a spirit of liberty and a desire of every individual becoming a proprietor, where they imagine they can still obtain land for themselves and their flocks of cattle at a trifling rent or of conquering it from the Indians with the sword the most desirable holding of any for a Highlander.[75]

The Highlanders, clearly wishing to maintain their traditional culture and society, preferred to emigrate to the New World rather than be assimilated into the culture and society of Lowland Scotland. For many, the Carolinas were the preferred choice. Not only was there an established Highland community along the upper Cape Fear valley, but the governor of North Carolina was willing to class them as foreign Protestants. This enabled them to receive land grants and be exempt from local taxes for four years. The original Highland colony in North Carolina had kept up its links with Argyll, the source of the majority of the early settlers. A notable example of this is the MacAlester Letters, 1749–1775, which facilitated subsequent settlement, especially in the years before the American Revolution.[76] The influx of Highlanders into North Carolina in the decade or so prior to 1776 was substantial, some sources putting the number as high as twelve thousand. The government reckoned that between 1769 and 1772 sixteen hundred men, women, and children from Argyll and Arran had settled in Cumberland County alone.[77] By the early 1770s the British government was becoming so concerned by the level of emigration from the Highlands that it at times discouraged or hindered it. In June 1772 it rejected a petition for forty thousand acres of land in North Carolina from several gentlemen resident in Skye because it knew that allocation of the land would lead to the further depopulation of that island.[78] Not only was the government concerned about the level of depopulation occurring in the Highlands, but the landowners were worried about the threat to their livelihood as tenant farmers abandoned their leases to go to America, where they could obtain land freely. In the autumn of 1772 five tenant farmers on Findon Estate—Donald Cantach in Crach, Thomas Murray in Culbain, Donald Ross in Shoretown, William Urquhart in Culbo, and William Cantach in Badrum—agreed among themselves to break the condition of their leases, desert their farms, and emigrate to America.[79] Their plan, however, came to the attention of their superior, Sir Robert McKenzie of Rosehaugh, who caused them to be imprisoned at Dingwall for breaking the terms of their leases. On 5 October 1772 the same tenants wrote from prison in Dingwall to McKenzie of Rosehaugh admitting their "error" and undertaking to return to their farms and fulfill the terms of their leases. The rising tide of Highland emigration was halted by the outbreak of the American Revolution in 1776, but then only for the duration of the war. The settlement of Highlanders in colonial North Carolina has received particular attention from historians such as Duane Meyer, author of *The Highland Scots of North Carolina, 1732–1776*,[80] and more recently Bernard Bailyn, who, in his *Voyagers to the West*,[81] deals with the abortive attempt by James Hogg to lead a group of immigrants from Caithness to North Carolina in 1774. Overwhelmingly the Highlanders who settled along the upper Cape Fear valley during the colonial era originated from Argyll, particularly Kintyre, Jura, Islay, and Gigha, plus the neighboring islands of Skye and Arran. Consequently the most common surnames among them were Blue, Buie, Campbell, Gillis, McAllister, McCaskill, McDonald, McDougal, McIntyre, McKinnon, McLean, McNeil, and McQueen. The majority were employed in agriculture, although a few individuals, such as Alexander Campbell of Lossett[82] who had arrived via Jamaica, became merchants, and Murdoch McLeod worked as a surgeon apothecary in Cross Creek before 1776.[83]

As far as can be established, the majority of emigrants who left Scotland for the Carolinas sailed from ports, or even bays, on the west coast of Scotland. A relatively high number of ships seem to have embarked passengers at points along the West Highland coastline that in practice lay beyond the effective control of the customs authorities. There are a number of instances of vessels leaving east-coast ports, such as Kirkcaldy or Leith, bound for the Carolinas with emigrants on board. Some of these ships were evidently engaged in taking passengers to the Carolinas and returning with cargoes of colonial American produce. One such was the *Minerva of Dundee,* under master James Rea, which in 1765 carried emigrants from Dundee to Charleston, South Carolina, via Madeira, where it unloaded a cargo of Carolina rice and loaded Madeira wine.[84] In August 1765 the *Minerva* arrived at Charleston where "a considerable number of Scotch passengers" disembarked, a few of whom proceeded to Florida.[85] During the revolution the *Minerva,* engaged in shipping a cargo of rice, indigo, tobacco, and logwood from Charleston to Gothenburg, Sweden, contrary to legislation forbidding trade from the colonies, was captured at sea in April 1778 and taken to Greenock.[86] A number of other vessels were trading between Dundee and the Carolinas before 1776. The *Elisabeth of Dundee,* under master Andrew Peddie, probably took goods and emigrants and brought back tobacco, some of which was later shipped to ports such as Gothenburg.[87] Without doubt, the best contemporary record of a voyage from Scotland to the American colonies of a merchant vessel carrying both goods and passengers is Janet Schaw's *Journal of a Lady of Quality.*[88] Janet Schaw sailed to America on board the *Jamaica Packet of Burntisland,* under master Thomas Smith, which was recorded in June 1775 as sailing from Kirkcaldy to Brunswick, North Carolina, with Scottish emigrants. The journal provides an insight into colonial society, including a number of Scots merchants and planters in the years immediately prior to the American Revolution. It also identifies her fellow passengers, number of children returning to Carolina after being educated in Scotland, and a group of emigrants from Orkney.

The unsuccessful attempt to transport 280 emigrants from Caithness to North Carolina in 1774 is probably the best documented emigration project of that era.[89] In 1765 James Hogg, a native of East Lothian, and his wife, Alves McDowell, moved to Caithness, where he became tacksman of Borlum, parish of Reay, near Thurso. Hogg aimed to develop his farm in line with modern farming techniques; but despite the assistance of his landlord, Innes of Sandside, he was forced to abandon his enterprise and emigrate to North Carolina. In a letter to William Balfour of Trinabay he stated that, unlike many others, his reasons for emigrating were not the claims of arbitrary and oppressive services, racked rents, or cruel taskmasters, but rather they were the level of petty crime, particularly theft, that he was subjected to in Caithness and the failure of the local authorities to take action to counter this.[90] The final straw for Hogg occurred in late 1771 when a ship from Liverpool was wrecked near Borlum and subsequently looted by the local population. Hogg attempted to save the wreck and its cargo from plunder, and this led to his home's being the subject of arson attacks.

About that time James Hogg's brother Robert returned from America, where he had settled in 1756, to visit him. In America Robert Hogg was a merchant in Wilmington, North Carolina, partner in the firm of Hogg and Campbell and later partner with Francis Clayton from Edinburgh.[91] On his return to North Carolina Robert secured over one thousand acres near Hillsborough for his brother. When James Hogg's intention to depart for Carolina became public, he was inundated by requests from people in the neighborhood who wished to accompany him. He agreed to take only those who could pay their fares and who could provide suitable references from their ministers.

On 24 August 1773 James Hogg contracted with James Inglis, merchant in Edinburgh, to transport him, his family, and a group of emigrants from Thurso to Wilmington, North Carolina. Inglis selected the *Bachelor of Leith* for the voyage because the vessel had experience on the transatlantic run. The voyage from Thurso to Wilmington, originally scheduled for July 1773, was delayed and did not commence until mid-September of that year. Within a week the ship encountered ferocious storms that drove the vessel back to shelter at Stromness in the Orkney Islands. On 3 October, two days after leaving Stromness, the ship again encountered storms that forced it to shelter in Vaila Sound in the Shetland Islands, where it suffered damage sufficient for it to have to winter there awaiting repairs. John Leslie, a ship's carpenter, was dispatched from Leith aboard the *Mary* but was unable to repair the damage. The vessel remained at Vaila Sound until April 1774, when it sailed to Leith. By that time eight children were dead, and eighteen adults with ten children abandoned the ship. The report made by the customs officials at Lerwick in April 1774 on the emigrants aboard the *Bachelor of Leith*, under master Alexander Ramage, is probably the most detailed of its type and provides substantial material on each family or individual.[92] For example: "Alexander Sinclair, aged 36, married, has 3 children from 18 to 2 years old, a farmer last at Dollochlagy in the parish of Reay and county of Caithness, on the estate of Sir John Sinclair of Murkle. Left his own country and goes to Carolina because the tacksman of Sir John Sinclair's estate demanded an advanced rent and arbitrary service which, in the present distresses of the country, could not be complied with without ruin. That he is encouraged by his friends in America to hope to better his circumstances there."

The *Bachelor of Leith* returned to its home port, where the passengers expected repairs to be completed and then their journey to America recommenced. They were, however, disembarked with James Inglis declaring that the voyage was at an end and refusing to reimburse them. James Hogg made alternative plans for his family and himself and sailed from Greenock on board the *Penelope* to North Carolina on 11 July 1775. Before going he commenced legal action against James Inglis for breach of contract in the High Court of the Admiralty of Scotland. The action did not reach a conclusion satisfactory to the former prospective emigrants until March 1777, by which time they had dispersed after spending some time employed in the construction of the New Town of Edinburgh. Apart from Hogg's family and his servants, few, if any, of the former passengers on board the *Bachelor of Leith* are believed to have settled in America, partly due to the fact that by the time they were reimbursed their passage money the wartime restrictions on emigration had been imposed.

Much attention has been given to the Highland Scots of the upper Cape Fear valley, but there were other Scots in the Carolinas who have generally been overlooked. These Scots were virtually all English-speaking Lowlanders whose occupations generally necessitated their integration with the rest of the community. Some had forefathers who had arrived in the late seventeenth century, but the majority seem to have arrived after the middle of the eighteenth century. Many of them were engaged in trade or the professions in the port towns of Wilmington and, particularly, Charleston. A number of these merchants were engaged in international trade, importing manufactured goods such as Scottish linen and exporting colonial produce such as cotton, rice, tobacco, and timber products as well as human cargoes of indentured servants and Negro slaves. Most of the Scottish merchants in Charleston seem to have come from the port towns of Scotland and may, in some cases, have maintained contact through trade. David and John Deas, merchants in Charleston, sons of a Leith shipmaster, were both admitted as burgesses and guildsbrothers of Edinburgh during the 1760s; therefore, they could trade in the city.[93] Similarly James Penman, merchant in Charleston, a native of Edinburgh, was admitted as a burgess and guildsbrother of Glasgow in 1784.[94] There were proportionally fewer Scots merchants in Wilmington, the port at the mouth of the Cape Fear River. One of the most prominent was Robert Bogle, a member of a leading merchant family in Glasgow.[95] One of the first Scots merchants to settle in the Carolinas after the revolution was Hugh Wyllie.[96] Wyllie was well connected in Glasgow, where his father had been lord provost and a leading "Virginia merchant," and his mother Elizabeth Dunlop was a member of the Dunlop of Garnkirk family. He settled in Williamsburg, Granville County, North Carolina, as a merchant, presumably in the tobacco industry in which his father had made his fortune.

The Scottish presence among the physicians of Charleston was maintained through the influx of doctors[97] such as Alexander Baron, Francis Garden, William Keith, and David Oliphant. The most noteworthy of these was Alexander Garden (1730–91), son of the minister of Birse parish, Aberdeenshire. In 1753 Garden graduated with a medical degree from Marischal College, Aberdeen, and subsequently immigrated to work in Charleston, South Carolina. His claim to fame did not arise from his medical skills but rather from his research into natural science (the gardenia flower was named after him) and his reports to leading scientific societies in Europe. As a Loyalist, Alexander Garden found it necessary to move to London, where he died in 1791. William Brisbane was another Scots doctor who combined professional duties with running a plantation on the Ashley River.[98]

A number of Scots settled as planters in South Carolina, particularly during the 1760s. Andrew and John Balfour were two brothers from Edinburgh, sons of Andrew Balfour of Braidwood.[99] Although their father had bought land in South Carolina as early as 1741, they did not immigrate until 1772.[100] Initially Andrew, Jr, specialized in the manufacture of salt in Charleston; later he became a planter in Rowan County, North Carolina. His brother John worked as a planter on the Peedee River and as a merchant in Charleston.

The Church of England, the established church in the Carolinas, employed some Scots clergymen, especially in South Carolina. Examples include William Dawson, a St. Andrews graduate, in Colleton County from 1765 to 1767; George Skene, from Aberdeen, in Prince Frederick parish prior to 1766; and John Dundas, who was dispatched to South Carolina by the bishop of London in 1773.[101] During most of the prerevolutionary period the Scots Highlanders in the vicinity of Cumberland County were served by a Gaelic-speaking Presbyterian minister, the Reverend James Campbell.[102] In South Carolina two more Scottish ministers were at work,[103] Thomas Clark, a Glasgow graduate, and Thomas Henderson, formerly chaplain to the Royal Scots Regiment in St. Augustine, East Florida.

Throughout the Carolinas but especially in the main towns there could be found an increasing number of Scots craftsmen; these included William Rowand, a saddler in Wilmington around 1774;[104] James Geddie, a cooper in Cumberland County around 1772;[105] Matthew Smith, a ship's carpenter in Pasquatank, North Carolina, before 1771;[106] Alexander Penman, a coachmaker in Charleston around 1785;[107] Robert Fairweather, a barber in Charleston around 1763; and Alexander Cormack, a tailor in Charleston prior to 1773.[108]

The Register of Emigrants, which was maintained for about eighteen months from 1773 to 1775, contains details on the occupations of eighty-nine Scots who emigrated either from a Scots or an English port to the Carolinas.[109] This source provides a more representative sample of the occupations of Scottish emigrants.

## *Occupational Analysis of Scottish Emigrants to the Carolinas*

(based on the Register of Emigrants 1773–1775)

| | |
|---|---|
| Farmers/husbandmen | 24 |
| Laborers | 25 |
| Tailors | 7 |
| Merchants | 6 |
| Spinners | 6 |
| Clerks | 5 |
| Joiners | 4 |
| Weavers | 3 |
| Shoemakers | 2 |
| Coopers | 2 |
| Clothier | 1 |
| Shipmaster | 1 |
| Seamstress | 1 |
| Maltster | 1 |
| Jeweler | 1 |
| Total | 89 |

The outbreak of the American Revolution soon had direct consequences for the Scots in the Carolinas. The Highlanders of Cumberland County, most of whom originated in Argyll, had been loyal to the House of Hanover for generations; recalling the royal retribution on the rebel clans after Culloden, they decided to support the Crown. In February 1776 the Highlanders, marching to Wilmington to rendezvous with the British forces, were attacked and defeated by American militia at Moore's Creek. The Jacobite heroine Flora Macdonald, who had only recently settled in North Carolina, felt compelled to return home. The loyalties of the lowland Scots were also divided; some like Samuel Johnston[110] from Dundee, a planter in Edenton, actively supported the Patriot cause, while others like Thomas Denham, a Scots merchant in Charleston, as a Loyalist found it necessary to settle in Shelbourne, Nova Scotia.[111] On occasion the revolution divided families; of the aforementioned Hogg brothers, Robert, a Loyalist, took refuge in New York where he died in 1779, while his brother James, who actively supported the American cause, remained in North Carolina where he became a successful land speculator, entrepreneur, and co-founder of the University of North Carolina.

Given the absence of any immigration or emigration records for much of the period it is difficult to be exact about the level of migration that occurred between Scotland and the Carolinas between 1763 and 1785. Contemporary journals and newspapers, such as the *Scots Magazine* and the *Edinburgh Evening Courant,* regularly reported shiploads of Scots leaving for the American colonies. The degree of concern led to the government order that registers of emigrants be kept at every port. These registers, although obviously incomplete, represent the only record of several thousand British emigrants who left for America between December 1773 and September 1775. It is often claimed that the Scots were one of the main immigrant groups in eighteenth-century Carolina, but how accurate is that assertion? There is no doubt that the majority of eighteenth-century immigrants originated in the British Isles. Analysis of the Register of Emigrants, the only source of statistical data available, reveals that Scotland clearly provided a number of immigrants to the Carolinas out of proportion to her relative population within Great Britain. Out of 503 emigrants from British ports, not taking into account the 280 emigrants from Caithness whose voyage on the *Bachelor* had to be abandoned, 405 were Scottish. During the revolution, when emigration from the British Isles was suspended, the Scottish element of the population of the Carolinas fell as Loyalists moved to Canada and elsewhere, but thereafter Scottish Highlanders continued to settle in appreciable numbers.

## *Georgia*

The end of the French and Indian War was an important date in the economic development of Georgia. The subsequent withdrawal of the Spanish from Florida and the French from east of the Mississippi removed potential threats to the colony and consequently weakened the relative position of the Creek Indians. In November 1763 the Creeks signed the Treaty of Augusta, which ceded 2.4 million acres to Georgia. That land was then available for allocation, settlement, and development. The recent conversion of Georgia to an economy based on slavery meant that Georgia agriculture could compete on a cost basis similar to that of the neighboring colonies, and thus its development was of great interest to prospective planters. As elsewhere a condition of receiving a land grant was the settlement of Protestant families from outside Georgia.

Under the rule of Governor Wright the Georgia economy expanded in the decade prior to the revolution, and by 1773 the white population had risen from around six thousand in 1760 to nearly eighteen thousand. Although many of the new settlers came from the Carolinas, Virginia, and the West Indies, increasing numbers came from England, Scotland, and especially Ireland. Probably the biggest single ethnic group to settle in Georgia during the period was the Scotch-Irish. As far as can be ascertained from the limited records available for the period 1763 to 1773, there seems to have been no large-scale settlement of Scots in Georgia, but rather a continuous trickle of Scots either directly from Scotland or via colonies in mainland America or the West Indies. The only lation within Great Britain. Out of 503 emigrants from British ports, not taking into account the 280 emigrants from Caithness whose voyage on the *Bachelor* had to be abandoned, 405 were Scottish. During the revolution, when emigration from the British Isles was suspended, the Scottish element of the population of the Carolinas fell as Loyalists moved to Canada and elsewhere, but thereafter Scottish Highlanders continued to settle in appreciable numbers.

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The largest group of Scots to settle in Georgia on the eve of the revolution arrived in two contingents from the Orkney Islands in 1774 and 1775. In the early 1770s more than one million acres of "ceded lands" on the Georgia frontier were made available to incomers to Georgia as a direct result of the Treaty of Augusta in 1773. In 1773 Jonas Brown and his son Thomas, two Yorkshiremen, together with James Gordon, an Orcadian, planned to transport people from Britain to settle on their land grant.[115] In August 1774 the *Marlborough* sailed from Whitby, Yorkshire, with twenty-eight passengers, including nineteen Scots, mainly tradesmen "going to seek for better employment, to stay there or return." The ship sailed to Kirkwall, Orkney, where fifty-five local men, women, and children, mostly farmworkers and a few weavers, were recruited as indentured servants. A year later a further shipload of immigrants was taken from Great Britain to Georgia on board the *Marlborough.* In August 1775 a group of eight northern English tradesmen, two wives, and eight children embarked in London, and in September a further fifty-three men, women, and children, all indentured servants, were taken aboard the *Marlborough* at Kirkwall for shipment to Georgia.

These immigrants were settled mainly in the vicinity of Brownsborough, in the St. Paul parish on the Georgia frontier. During the revolution the Browns and Gordon were active Loyalists. Thomas Brown was particularly committed to supporting the British and became the commanding officer of the King's Carolina Rangers. After the revolution he settled on St. Vincent as a planter. James Gordon moved to the Bahamas. Although the organizers of this settlement, having the most to lose, were strongly committed to the Loyalist cause, their indentured servants were quite content to remain in America after the revolution.

A similar venture was organized by William Manson, an Orcadian shipmaster, and his partners William and John Chapman, merchants in Newcastle-upon-Tyne. In 1774 Manson obtained a grant of thirty-one hundred acres in the Ceded Lands and then returned to Newcastle to recruit suitable colonists. In September 1775 the *Georgia Packet* sailed from Newcastle for Georgia with 101 passengers, including 55 Scots, farmers and tradesmen who were "going to seek better employment." Manson, who was a Quaker, named his settlement Friendsborough and settled there as resident partner. By 1781 the Loyalist Manson found his position in Georgia untenable and returned to Britain, leaving his colonists in Georgia.

By the 1760s many of the original Scottish settlers of Georgia were dead, men like Sir Patrick Houstoun, James Cuthbert of Drakies, and James Bulloch, and their places in society and the economy were taken up by their American-born sons. A steady trickle of immigrants from Scotland was drawn to Georgia through an existing family connection. Magdalene and Elizabeth Fyffe from Dundee settled in St. George's parish around the time of the revolution, following in the steps of their brother Alexander, a merchant in Savannah.[116] The Fyffe family came from Dron, by Dundee, and was well represented in contemporary America with brother Charles, a physician in Norfolk, Virginia;[117] brothers David and William, planters and merchants in South Carolina;[118] brother Alexander, a merchant; and sisters Magdalene and Elizabeth in Georgia. Similarly John Struthers,[119] son of a Glasgow brewer, settled in Savannah around 1783, influenced by his kinsman William Struthers, an Indian trader in Augusta;[120] and James Seymour, an Aberdeen graduate and Episcopalian clergyman in Augusta from 1771,[121] was related to John Seymour in South Carolina.[122]

The revolution split the Scottish community in Georgia, with some embracing the American cause while others remained loyal to the Crown. Some Georgia Scots fought in the British army, men such as Dr. Andrew Johnston, formerly a physician in Augusta and an army surgeon from 1779 to 1781, and James Grierson, a merchant in Augusta and a Loyalist militia colonel, both of whom remained in Georgia after 1783.[123] Others fought for the American cause, the most notable of whom was Lachlan McIntosh, who rose to the rank of general in the American army.[124] Edward Telfair, a Scot who arrived in Savannah from Antigua during 1766, stayed there after 1783 and became second governor of the state.[125] Those leaving the colony included Donald Fraser, the customs collector of Sunbury from 1768, who moved to Jamaica; the Reverend George Gilmore, the Presbyterian minister of Voluntown, who moved to Halifax, Nova Scotia; and James Martin, formerly a baker and merchant in Savannah, who returned to his native Dundee.[126] Their departure was encouraged by contemporary legislation. On 5 August 1782, the House of Assembly meeting in Savannah decreed:

> Whereas the people of Scotland have in general manifested a decided inimicality to the Civil Liberties of America and have contributed principaly to promote and continue a Ruinous War, for the Purpose of Subjagating this and the other Confederated States—be it therefore enacted by the Authority aforesaid that no Person a Native of Scotland, shall be permitted or allowed to emigrate into this State with intent to Settle within the same, or to carry on Commerce or other trade, Profession or business, but every such Person, being a Native of Scotland shall within three days after his arrival within this State be apprehended and Committed to Gaol there to remain without bail or mainprize untill an opportunity offers of shipping or Transporting him to some part of the English Kings Dominions.

The Scottish participation in the settlement of colonial Georgia is hard to assess. It is clear that in the early years the Scots were influential out of proportion to their numbers, but this seems to have declined in the closing years of the colony. On the other hand, the admittedly limited evidence of the Register of Emigrants from England and Scotland for the period 1773 to 1775 indicates that two-thirds of those who migrated directly from Great Britain to Georgia at that time had been born in Scotland. It may be that native-born Americans were becoming more prominent within Georgia by the 1760s and that there were fewer Scots in positions of influence.

## *Florida*

In 1763, as part of the general peace settlement that brought the Seven Years' War to a close, France relinquished all claims to lands east of the Mississippi in favor of Great Britain. Great Britain returned Havana, Cuba, to Spanish administration in exchange for Florida. Thereafter, the former Spanish Florida and the French territories east of the Mississippi were formed into the two British colonies of East Florida and West Florida, comprising what is now southern Mississippi, eastern Louisiana, southern Alabama, and northwest Florida. The British government was keen to settle those territories as soon as possible, and in November 1763 the Board of Trade advertised twenty thousand-acre land grants available to those who could develop the grant within a set period with Protestant families. Locally the governors could grant smaller patent rights to settlers in proportion to the size of their families. Former soldiers who had fought in the recent war were offered land on preferential terms.

These opportunites generated great interest both in Britain and the other American colonies. Among those who successfully petitioned the Privy Council were members of Scottish landed families, such as the earl of Crawford and Lindsay and the earl of Eglinton, who each received twenty thousand acres in West Florida, in 1764 and 1767 respectively.[127] In East Florida, John Hamilton of Bargeny received ten thousand acres in 1765;[128] John Callendar of Craigforth received twenty thousand acres in 1767; John Grant, baron of the exchequer in Scotland, received twenty thousand acres; and Sir William Sinclair and his son John were have declined in the closing years of the colony. On the other hand, the admittedly limited evidence of the Register of Emigrants from England and Scotland for the period 1773 to 1775 indicates that two-thirds of those who migrated directly from Great Britain to Georgia at that time had been born in Scotland. It may be that native-born Americans were becoming more prominent within Georgia by the 1760s and that there were fewer Scots in positions of influence.

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There is little evidence of any migration directly from Scotland to Florida during the period of British rule. During the years 1773 to 1775 (for which there are records of immigrants leaving Scotland and England for the American colonies, there is only one reference to a vessel sailing directly from a British port bound for a port in Florida with immigrants aboard. In August 1774 the *Success's Increase* sailed from London bound for Pensacola, West Florida, with four passengers; two were Scots, one a cartwright, and the other a carpenter.[136] On the other hand, there are references in American sources that indicate that some Scottish immigrants landed at other colonial ports en route for Florida; for example, on 11 December 1767 the *South Carolina and American General Gazette* reported that several persons from Scotland had arrived at Charleston destined for East Florida. C. L. Mowat says that sixty people from Skye, among three hundred immigrants who had landed in North Carolina, were persuaded to settle at Hillsborough, East Florida, during 1772.[137]

Many of the early residents of both East and West Florida seem to have come from other British colonies in America. East Florida attracted settlers from Georgia and the Carolinas, and West Florida attracted people from as far north as Connecticut. James Penman, a merchant in St. Augustine, probably moved south from Charleston, where his kinsmen Edward and Alexander Penman, merchants from Edinburgh, were settled.[138] A number of the first members of the Council of East Florida had strong Scottish connections. The chief justice James Moultrie and his brother John were sons of Dr. John Moultrie, a Scots physician in Charleston, and John Ainslie was the son-in-law of the earl of Cromarty. John Stuart, another Scot based in Charleston, was appointed superintendent of Indian affairs and surveyor general of customs in Florida in 1764, positions which he held until his death at Pensacola in 1779.[139] Stuart, son of an Inverness merchant, had been a merchant in London and in Spain before participating in Anson's voyage round the world in 1740–44; he settled in Charleston in 1748. His deputy in the Department of Indian Affairs at Pensacola was another Scot, Alexander Cameron.[140] Martin Jollie, son of an Edinburgh tailor burgess, served as a land agent and as a member of the Council of East Florida from 1767 to 1776.[141]

As elsewhere in the American colonies, a number of Scots Episcopalians were in the service of the Church of England. John Forbes, a graduate of King's College, Aberdeen, was appointed a minister in St. Augustine in 1764;[142] William Gordon was sent in 1767 to West Florida, where he worked as a clergyman until 1775, when he was transferred to Virginia;[143] and John Fraser, an Edinburgh graduate, was appointed a minister in East Florida in 1769.[144] Among the Presbyterian clergy there was William Dawson from Perth, who died in Pensacola during 1770.[145]

There is little evidence of Scottish indentured servants being recruited for Florida, apart from the eight Scottish carpenters who contracted in 1767 to work on the earl of Cassillis's plantations in Florida for eight years, after which time each was to receive twenty pounds and fifty acres of land.[146] There is, however, one example of a young Scotsman being indentured in the traditional manner, on 22 May 1771; Donald, son of John McPherson, an Inverness merchant, was indentured as apprentice to Alexander McPherson, protonotary of the General Council of Pleas in West Florida, "to be taught in the science or business of law for five years."[147] Another McPherson to be found in Pensacola around that time was James "Ossian" McPherson,[148] who was temporarily the secretary of Governor George Johnstone, himself a Scot.

Scottish physicians, prominent elsewhere in British North America, were soon to be found in Florida. Robert Barrie worked as a surgeon in Pensacola, William Burnett from Dumfries was a doctor in West Florida around 1775, and Henry Cunningham from Edinburgh was a surgeon in St. Augustine until his death in 1771.[149] The best-known Scottish physician, Dr. Andrew Turnbull, a graduate of Edinburgh University, gained fame after his spectacularly unsuccessful attempt at settling a mixed group of Greeks, Minorcans, and Italians at New Smyrna, East Florida. Thereafter Turnbull moved to Charleston, South Carolina, where he worked as a physician until his death in 1792.[150]

Another such individualistic Scot was William Dunbar (1749–1810) from Moray, a graduate of Aberdeen.[151] He immigrated to Philadelphia in 1771, then moved to the frontier region around Fort Pitt, where, together with John Ross from Leith, he worked as an Indian trader.[152] Later the partners were to separate, Ross moving to East Florida to work as a planter and merchant until 1785, settling finally in Dominica. Dunbar moved initially to the Mississippi region of West Florida as a planter, then to Natchez where he was a planter, merchant, and correspondent of the American Philosophical Society.

The outbreak of the American Revolution was a watershed in the brief colonial history of British Florida. From 1763 to 1776 immigration and settlement proceeded at a relatively slow pace; but during the revolutionary period there was substantial immigration by Loyalists, particularly from Georgia and the Carolinas. In December 1783 the governor of East Florida was ordered to evacuate the province, which by then contained thousands of Loyalists, mainly refugees. The British government offered them free transport and land in the Bahamas and the West Indies. The offer was generally taken up; 3,200 people moved to the Bahamas, 1,850 to Jamaica and Dominica, 880 to Nova Scotia, 281 back to Great Britain, and approximately 3,000 back to what was by then the United States of America.

Almost all the British inhabitants decided to leave the colony rather than live under Spanish rule. In 1786 the Spanish census of East Florida listed seven Scottish residents of St. Augustine:[153] Thomas Tunno and Duncan Noble, both tailors; Alexander and Randolph MacDonnell, both farmers; James Clark, innkeeper, and his wife Margaret Crerich; and John Leslie, a merchant. John Leslie, formerly a partner in the firm of Panton, Forbes and Company, later Panton, Leslie and Company, had developed such strong links with the Indians during the British regime that he had become indispensable to the Indian trade, a major element of Florida's economy. The Spanish were aware of his key role and encouraged him to remain in Florida.

In Pensacola, a similar census was carried out by the new Spanish governor Arturo O'Neill y Tyrone.[154] This census provides less detail than that of East Florida, but names such as Thomas Comins suggest a Scots presence after the British evacuation. A number of former residents of West Florida, mainly Indian traders, moved to the hinterland beyond the area of Spanish jurisdiction; for example, James Mackintosh, who had formerly lived in the vicinity of Mobile, moved north the lands of the Chicksaw Indians, where he died around 1787.[155]

It is evident that in prerevolutionary British Florida the Scots played a significant role in the settlement and development of the colony. A noteworthy contribution made by the Grants of Monymusk is outlined in some detail by Bernard Bailyn in his *Voyagers to the West*. True immigration from Scotland occurred for only a limited period, from 1763 until 1776, after which date there was marked influx of Loyalists, including many Scots. The impact of the Scots, however, was short-lived as there was an almost complete evacuation of British citizens between 1784 and 1785.

## *The West Indies*

Under the terms of the Peace of Paris, which formally ended the Seven Years' War, the West Indian islands of Dominica, Tobago, St. Vincent, Grenada, and the Grenadines were transferred from French to British rule. This territorial expansion presented eco-

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## *The West Indies*

Under the terms of the Peace of Paris, which formally ended the Seven Years' War, the West Indian islands of Dominica, Tobago, St. Vincent, Grenada, and the Grenadines were transferred from French to British rule. This territorial expansion presented economic opportunities for British colonists, especially planters and merchants, who soon flocked to these islands. For generations the West Indies had traded with the mainland colonies of North America and the British ports London, Bristol, Liverpool, and Glasgow, supplying them with sugar, rum, and cotton for processing and distribution. Scottish merchants were, in relative terms, particularly numerous in the West Indies, selling Scottish products such as herring and linen goods and buying raw materials for processing mainly in the vicinity of Glasgow. During the American Revolution the importance of Glasgow to the Virginia tobacco planters diminished as the Navigation Acts and similar legislation no longer applied. The Glasgow tobacco lords, faced with a degree of redundancy, turned to other activities, including an expansion of their existing Caribbean interests.[156] This, in turn, led to an increase in the number of Scots in the West Indies; later those who had come directly from Scotland were augmented by their compatriots among the American Loyalists who settled in the West Indies after the revolution.

British immigrants in the West Indies were not as socially varied as in the mainland colonies. The fact that the Caribbean islands used African slaves eliminated the need for unskilled and semiskilled European immigrants. The Register of Emigrants[157] identifies fifty-three Scots who sailed from Britain to the West Indies between 1773 and 1775; of those twenty-two sailed directly from Scotland. An analysis of the data reveals that forty-two went to Jamaica, four to Dominica, three to Barbados, and one each to St. Vincent, St. Kitts, Tobago, and Grenada. Fifty-one of these immigrants were male, and they included fifteen construction workers (carpenters, masons, smiths), fourteen merchants, nine clerks and bookkeepers, seven gentlemen, and six farmers and planters.

Edinburgh, one of the leading cities of contemporary Europe, with the attendant lively social aspect, seems to have acted to some degree as a marriage market for residents of the West Indies. The Edinburgh marriage register for the years 1763 to 1785 contains over three dozen weddings of which at least one partner had a West Indian address.[158] There is also evidence of links being formed between West Indian merchant families and Scottish landed gentry.

James Baillie, a Scots merchant in Grenada, first married a daughter of Campbell of Glenure in 1772 and later, in 1784, married the daughter of Gordon of Hallhead. On other occasions mercantile families in Scotland and the colonies were united through marriage. John Dalrymple, a merchant in Edinburgh, son of Sir James Dalrymple of Newhailes, married Ann, daughter of Walter Pringle, merchant in St. Kitts, in Edinburgh in 1774. There is also evidence of marriage links between Scots in the West Indies and those in the American colonies. William Keith, son of a South Carolina physician, married Jean Moodie from Jamaica in Edinburgh in 1769.

Prior to the revolution, a number of Scots are known to have settled in America after having spent some time in the West Indies. Archibald McLean, a physician from Mull, settled in New York after living in Trelawney, Jamaica,[159] and William Cruikshank, a carpenter from Aberdeen, moved to Jamaica in 1781 but settled in New York before 1795.[160] On the other hand, a number of Loyalists, mainly from the southern colonies, took refuge in the British West Indies after the American Revolution, thereby taking advantage also of the British government land grants; Donald Fraser,[161] who initially went to Georgia in 1768 as customs collector of Sunbury, later settled in Jamaica, and Alexander Aikman, a Bo'ness printer who arrived in South Carolina around 1771, moved to Jamaica in 1778.[162] The civic records of a number of Scottish burghs include references to various West Indian residents, usually bearing Scottish surnames, who were admitted as burgesses at that time. James Shaw, Jamaica, was admitted as a burgess of Edinburgh in 1763,[163] and Alexander Henderson, a merchant in St. Kitts, was admitted as a burgess of Banff in 1770.[164] A number of Scottish residents of the West Indies sent their sons back to Scotland to be educated or to serve an apprenticeship. Charles Gordon, a physician in Jamaica, had his son Charles indentured as an apprentice to Thomas Carmichael, a merchant in Edinburgh, during 1772, and Giles, son of Henry Sharp in St. Kitts, was apprenticed to Charles Congalton, an Edinburgh apothecary, during 1764.[165]

The various registers of Sasines record that a number of Scots resident in the West Indies were engaged in property dealings in Scotland during this period. Some may indicate a settler's disposing of property in Scotland, and others may represent the purchase of property by individuals who had made their fortunes in the Caribbean.[166] Arthur Gordon, a saddler in Jamaica, son of a Fochabers merchant, was engaged in a property transaction in Elgin in 1771; and Alexander Gordon of Kingsgrange, the customs collector of Montserrat, was involved in property transactions in Dumfries in 1773. The Church of England, the predominant church in the British West Indies, recruited about a dozen Scots Episcopalians for service in the West Indies between 1763 and 1785.[167] Many of these were educated at King's College or Marischal College, Aberdeen (for example, James Coull from Cullen, a clergyman in Antigua from 1773), while a few had been educated elsewhere in Scotland (John West from Fife was a graduate of St. Andrews and a clergyman in Jamaica from 1785).

By the 1760s there were Scots settled throughout the British West Indies although the emphasis was clearly on Jamaica. In 1774 the white population of Jamaica was estimated to be 12,737 people, of whom a considerable number were Scots or of Scottish origin.[168] In 1762 one-third of the European inhabitants were reckoned to be Scots or their descendants.[169] A high proportion seem to have been merchants based in Kingston, trading in sugar, rum, cotton, slaves, Scottish linen, and herring. Included among them were John Farquhar, a former Edinburgh lawyer; Hugh Huddleston, from Canongate; William Thomson,[170] from Glasgow; James Renny, from Montrose; George Campbell,[171] son of a professor at St. Andrews; William Ged,[172] son of an Edinburgh goldsmith; and Charles Leslie, from Aberdeenshire.[173] As on the Chesapeake, many young Scots immigrated to Jamaica under the auspices of Glasgow-based firms of merchants, to act as factors or the resident partner. Some of these immigrants can be recognized from their deeds of attorney or factory; examples are John Rattray, Alexander Rouan,[174] and William Cathcart.[175] Scots merchants were also found scattered throughout the island. For example, James Fogo,[176] son of a Glasgow lawyer, was a merchant in Clarendon; James Webster, from Dundee,[177] was a merchant in Richmond

Vale; John Legg, from Crosspath,[178] was a merchant in Savannah-la-Mar; and William Monteath was a merchant on Green Island.[179]

Among the immigrants from Scotland's educated professional and landed classes who went to Jamaica to make their fortunes and return to Scotland or London were James Douglas,[180] a graduate of Glasgow and Oxford, a barrister of the Middle Temple, the customs collector of Jamaica from 1762; James Anderson, an architect from Elgin;[181] William Paterson, an attorney; William Urquhart, writer to the signet;[182] and Thomas Farquharson, an attorney.[183] The most numerous professional Scots were medical doctors, such as Archibald McLean,[184] a surgeon in Trelawney; Dougald Campbell, a surgeon in St. Ann's parish;[185] Hugh McKay, a physician in Kingston; John Ruddach,[186] son of a Portsoy vintner, a physician at Montego Bay; and Alexander Thomson,[187] a surgeon in St. Thomas-in-the-Vale.

The majority of Scots in Jamaica were engaged in tertiary industries, these being the professions, personal services, and the distributive trades. Those engaged in the primary sector of industry were entrepreneurs or at least supervisors, usually described as planters, occasionally as overseers. These included Alexander Gordon;[188] Walter Gordon, overseer of Airy Castle Plantation; Daniel Campbell[189] in St. Elizabeth parish; David Connell,[190] son of the provost of Glasgow, in Westmoreland parish; Donald Sutherland[191] in St. George's parish; and John Nisbet on Belisle Estate.[192]

As in other colonies Scots could be found in leading positions in a variety of government departments. George Cuthbert,[193] the provost marshal, had arrived in Jamaica via Georgia; Thomas Clark,[194] son of the minister of Kirkgunzeon, was a physician, a surgeon, and also His Majesty's Botanist in Jamaica; Alexander Brown[195] was deputy receiver general; and Sir Basil Keith[196] was the governor of Jamaica.

There is no evidence that farm laborers, weavers, or semiskilled workers migrated from Scotland to Jamaica as they did to the mainland colonies. There were, however, a few skilled tradesmen, generally brought in as indentured servants; among them were Robert Gilmour, a wright and joiner from Kirkintilloch, and Thomas Watson, a mason and bricklayer also from Kirkintilloch, who were indentured in Glasgow during 1763 for three years' service in Jamaica.[197]

Under the Peace of Paris St. Vincent and the Grenadines, Grenada, and Carriacou were ceded to Great Britain by France. These islands soon attracted British colonists, and with the end of the Seven Years' War Scottish merchants began to expand their long-established interests in the area. In January 1764 John Cross, Robert Bogle, and Ebenezer Munro, merchants in Glasgow, and Robert Glassford, merchant in Grenada, formerly in St. Kitts, subscribed to a co-partnership agreement with the object of purchasing and developing the Montreal Estate on Grenada.[198] Soon Scottish newspapers began to carry advertisements for immigrants to the area; the following is an example from the *Aberdeen Journal* of 8 February 1768: "Wanted for Grenada a Mason, a Millwright and a House Carpenter. Any such, well recommended, will find good encouragement, by applying to Alexander Ross jr, merchant in Aberdeen."

Nearby lay two other islands, that, although outside the Windwards archipelago, were closely associated—Tobago and Barbados. Tobago was acquired by Great Britain in 1762, and by the late eighteenth century its white population was mainly of Scottish origin.[199] The Tobago Scots included William Brown,[200] formerly a merchant in St. Kitts, who settled in Tobago as a planter and died there in 1767; Alexander Fraser,[201] a merchant there around 1771; and Alexander and Nathaniel Gordon[202] from Wigtown, who purchased four hundred acres in St. John's parish during 1770. On Grenada there were Scottish planters such as Alexander Scott and David Young;[203] merchants such as Alexander Houstoun and James McLelland;[204] civil servants such as James Gordon, the chief judge,[205] and Alexander Symson, baron of the exchequer;[206] and physicians such as Robert Johnston from Annan.[207]

The Scots in the West Indies did not restrict their trading links to the Clyde but traded with the mainland colonies, often by way of their compatriots based there. This is frequently revealed in their testaments, which list their relatives, friends, and trading partners. George Simpson, formerly of Alexander and Company, merchants in Grenada, referred in his will[208] to John McCulloch, a merchant formerly in Virginia, then in Glasgow; Andrew Sproule, a merchant in Norfolk, Virginia; and his executor, John Wright, a merchant in Glasgow.

St. Vincent attracted relatively few settlers, but among the Scots were George Ramsay from Dundee, Robert Lawrie,[209] Robert Glasgow from Ayrshire, and Dr. George Kyd from Fife.[210] Some may have been there for a specific project or term, such as the tradesmen who responded to the advertisement in the *Aberdeen Journal* of 30 October 1768: "Wanted for St Vincent, West Indies, 4 masons, 4 house-carpenters and 2 mill-wrights, to go at short notice." The highest density of Scots in the Windward Islands was probably on Carriacou, a small island northeast of Grenada. According to recent research,[211] Carriacou was heavily settled by Scots planters, with their overseers and servants from Aberdeenshire during and after 1770; common names were Cumming, Reid, McKellar, McLean, Kirkland, Milne, Robertson, Urquhart, Arbuthnot, Simpson, Brand, Laurie, Grant, Cruickshank, Bell, and Mitchell. Barbados, which had attracted Scots immigrants since 1626 and had many people of Scots origin, by then attracted very few Scots. Two Scots merchants[212] are known to have settled there during the period, Thomas Clarkson and James Fraser. The most prominent Scot in Barbados was Edward Hay, brother of the Earl of Kinnoull and governor of Barbados until his death in 1779.[213] On the whole, the Scots in the Windward Islands seem to have been planters and merchants who had arrived not as impecunious immigrants but as representatives of affluent families or companies with funds to invest in plantations and commercial ventures with the object of developing and expanding their assets.

The Leeward Islands lie between the Virgin Islands and the Windward Islands. Of these, the main British islands were Antigua, Nevis, St. Kitts, Montserrat, and Dominica, whose economies were highly dependent on the production of sugar and cotton. Although the other islands had traditionally been British, Dominica had recently been taken from the French and had begun to attract British immigrants, such as Andrew Stewart[214] from

Edinburgh, who applied for a land grant at Massacre Rivulet, Dominica, on 31 August 1762. Apart from Jamaica, Antigua was the only West Indian destination of those who sailed from Scotland during the period covered by the Register of Emigrants, 1773–1775. These emigrants, twenty-six in all, sailed in two groups, the first from Kirkcaldy on board the *Jamaica Packet* in October 1774 and a smaller group, mainly merchants, from Greenock on board the *Chance* in August 1775. The only Scots recorded in the Register of Emigrants as going to Dominica were two carpenters, one mason, and one blacksmith, all from Edinburgh, who sailed from London on the *Greyhound* in search of work in December 1773.

Throughout the Leeward Islands there were Scots merchants such as Robert Dewar in Antigua and William Saddler in St. Kitts.[215] Some operated independently while others had formal links with merchants in Britain; John Park, a merchant in Dominica, was linked with Simon Fraser, a London-based Scots merchant.[216] Scottish doctors could be found throughout these islands, examples being Dr. James Boswell[217] in Montserrat, Dr. Andrew Greig in Dominica, and Dr. James Granger[218] in St. Kitts.

As elsewhere in America and the West Indies there are indications that Scottish families strengthened their links through business or marriage. Walter Colquhoun, member of a leading Glasgow family of merchants, married Elizabeth, daughter of Alexander McAlister, a Scots planter in Dominica, in June 1776; he later settled in Antigua, where he died in 1802.[219] Such families also had business connections, as is illustrated by a bond of 1778 between William Colquhoun, planter in Antigua; Robert Graham, planter in Antigua; and Alexander McAlister, planter in Dominica. Other Scottish planters then in the Leewards included Philip Wilson, son of an Edinburgh lawyer, in St. Kitts and John Cameron, from Paisley, in Antigua.[220] Scots were also prominent among the colonial civil service. Alexander Gordon of Kingsgrange was the customs collector of Montserrat, and James Bonteen was an engineer in Dominica.[221]

St. Eustatia, a Dutch possession in the Leewards, contained a number of Scots, mainly merchants, who were particularly active during the American Revolution, bypassing the embargo on trade between Great Britain and its colonies on the one hand and the rebel American colonies on the other. These included Thomas Halyburton, David Crawford, William Moore, and Ninian Menzies.[222] Ninian Menzies had been a Scots merchant based in Richmond, Virginia, before the revolution and active in the slave trade, as illustrated by this extract from the *Virginia Gazette:* "June 4, 1772. Two hundred very likely African slaves will be sold at Petersburg, on Thursday the 11th of this instant. The terms of payment will be made known on the Day of Sale. Tobacco at the Cash Price, and Merchants Notes payable in Williamsburg will be received; and five per cent will be discounted for ready money. Hugh McMekin, Ninian Menzies, John Walker & Co." During the revolution Ninian Menzies returned briefly to Glasgow before settling in St. Eustatia as a merchant. His testament dated 1780[223] identifies his trading partners in Glasgow as being Baird, Hay and Company, and in America, Tod and Menzies, plus John Hay and Company. Probably the only Scottish craftsman to be found in the contemporary Leeward Islands was John Taylor, a goldsmith from Greenock, who had settled in St. Eustatia.[224]

The Virgin Islands were under the rule of a mixture of European nations—Dutch, French, British, and Danish—and the single most important island was the Danish island of St. Croix. Like St. Eustatia, the island of St. Croix was used by merchants of various nations to circumvent the British embargo on trade with the rebel colonies during the American Revolution. Here, too, there was a small Scottish community, including Alexander Moir, a physician from Banff;[225] Alexander Carmichael, a surgeon from Greenock; and William Gordon, son of the minister of Kettle.[226] On the nearby Danish island of St. Thomas were a few Scots including Joseph Corrie, David Currie, and John Sheriff.[227]

The Scots could be found in virtually every sizable island in the Caribbean apart from those under Spanish control. Among the American Loyalists who moved from East Florida to the Bahamas in the north, there were Scots such as John Falconer, a merchant in Nassau.[228] In the Lesser Antilles, off the coast of modern Venezuela in the south, among the Dutch colonists were a few Scots such as Hugh Munro,[229] son of the minister of Suddie, and John Arbuthnot, previously a merchant in Rotterdam, who died in Curaçao during 1785.[230]

The Scottish presence in many contemporary West Indian islands can be best described in the words of Janet Schaw, who visited Antigua and St. Kitts during 1774 and wrote in her journal, "Here was a whole company of Scotch people, our language, our manners, our circle of friends and connections, all the same."[231]

## *Canada*

Permanent Scottish settlement in Canada can be said to have begun in 1763 with the settlement of former Scottish soldiers in the territories surrendered by France to Great Britain under the terms of the Treaty of Paris. As far as the British government was concerned, the policy of settling former soldiers solved a number of problems, especially that of settling the land quickly with men whose loyalty to the Crown and ability to fight had been proven. Among the British regiments disbanded in Canada at that time were the Seventy-seventh (Montgomery's Highlanders) and the Seventy-eighth (Fraser's Highlanders). After the American Revolution the British government again favored the policy of Canadian settlement of discharged soldiers, some of whom were Scots who had fought in regiments such as the Eighty-fourth (Royal Highland Emigrants) or the King's Royal Regiment of New York. It is clear that these military settlements and the Loyalist resettlement after 1783 caused a rapid increase in Canada's population, which would otherwise, had existing trends continued, have taken generations to achieve. The settlement of former Scots soldiers in turn generated further migration from Scotland to Canada.

A number of Scots were prominent in the fur trade during the period. Of these some had been recruited by the Hudson Bay Company in Orkney, others had come directly from Scotland or via New York, and still more had arrived with the British army. In urban centers such as Quebec, Montreal, and Halifax, Scottish immigrants could be found actively engaged in a range of trades and professions. Their success prepared the ground for the later massive immigration from Scotland.

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QUEBEC • Prior to the French and Indian War, the French settlements in what is now Canada were collectively known as New France, and of these Canada, now known as Quebec, was the largest. This colony straddling the St. Lawrence River contained three major settlements—Quebec, the administrative capital; Montreal, the commercial capital; and Three Rivers. The population, unlike that in the American colonies to the south, was virtually homogeneous, the factor which later prevented assimilation into Anglo-American society. Although the old French colony was territorially restricted to the area of the St. Lawrence, the French sphere of influence spread to the north and west among the Indian tribes.

From around 1748 the French began to follow a policy of intensifying their influence and presence in the lands lying between Canada and Louisiana, especially in the Ohio valley, with the object of restricting the westward advance of the British colonists. The French constructed new forts and trading posts and expanded existing ones throughout the area; sites included Fort Michilimackinac, Fort Detroit, and Fort Duquesne. After 1762 these new territories previously controlled from Quebec were outside the new British colony of Quebec. However, in 1774 the Quebec Act incorporated within Quebec lands between the Ohio River and the upper Mississippi River, much of today's Midwest, as well as Labrador. This was considered by the Virginians and others as a political move by the British government to halt the westward expansion of Virginia and simultaneously to put the Ohio valley directly under the control of the British.

Quebec, unlike the older colonies, had no elected assembly and was administered by British government appointees. The political, religious, and legal structure of Quebec contrasted with that elsewhere in British North America and may have discouraged some prospective settlers. However, a number of fur traders and trappers moved to the former French settlements north and west of the Ohio River. Relatively few Europeans chose to live this way on the western periphery of contemporary British North America; those who did included a handful of Scots such as Normand McLeod, James Aird, Alexander Grant, and Lauchlan Anderson. Norman

McLeod from Skye,[232] who had originally arrived in America as an officer in the Black Watch during 1756, farmed for a period in the Mohawk valley in upper New York, was a fur trader at Fort Detroit in 1774, moved to Fort Michilmackinac around 1779, and finally in 1783 settled in Montreal, where he became a partner in the firm of Gregory, McLeod and Company. James Aird, from Ayr,[233] was based at Fort Michilimackinac as a fur trader from 1778 and died in Prairie-du-Chien in 1819. Alexander Grant,[234] born in Glenmoriston during 1734, also arrived in America as an army officer but later became a fur trader and merchant at Castle Grant, Grosse Pointe (Michigan), where he died in 1813. Lauchland Anderson from Fife, a less well-documented individual, is known to have settled at Fort Detroit before 1785.[235]

The fur trade with which such individuals were involved was controlled from Montreal, a city that had attracted Scottish merchants from 1760. Vast quantities of furs were assembled there for shipment to markets in Europe. However, despite their prominence, the Scots merchants failed to make Glasgow the European distribution center for fur as they had for Virginia tobacco.

Under the Treaty of Paris the southwest boundaries of Quebec, delineated in 1774, were abandoned in favor of a line drawn far to the north, through the Great Lakes. The Quebec Act of 1774 extended statutory protection to the Roman Catholic church, which had a monopoly during the French regime. This meant that the colony became more attractive to Catholic immigrants than the American colonies, where Catholics tended to be at a disadvantage. This may have been a factor in motivating Scottish Highland Catholics to settle there during the period. Protestants were very much in the minority in Quebec at the time. Under the French administration they had been virtually nonexistent in New France. The Presbyterian church in Quebec was founded in the early 1760s by the Reverend George Henry, an ordained minister of the Church of Scotland, who had arrived as a military chaplain and remained until his death in 1795.[236] During the early years of British rule the congregation comprised merchants and disbanded soldiers, mainly from Scotland.

From 1763 until 1791 Quebec was administered as a single political unit; and thereafter it was divided into two distinct colonies, Upper Canada (Ontario) and Lower Canada (Quebec). Quebec was the most economically and socially developed French colony absorbed into British North America in 1763. Initially, the majority of British settlers were former soldiers allocated land, often determined by strategic reasons. These colonists included men from Scots regiments such as the Forty-second (Black Watch) or the Seventy-eighth (Fraser's Highlanders), who settled in the vicinity of Murray Bay from around 1762. These military settlements were to provide the nucleus of regiments such as the Eighty-fourth (Royal Highland Emigrants), raised by the government for service during the American Revolution.

Immediately after the outbreak of the revolution substantial numbers of Loyalists from upper New York and inland New England, mainly Scottish Highlanders, Germans, and Quakers, moved north by way of Lake Champlain to Quebec, where many were enrolled in provincial corps such as the King's Royal Regiment of New York. After the revolution several thousand Loyalists and discharged soldiers, including many Scots, were strategically settled along the St. Lawrence River and in Charlottenburg, Cornwall, and Glengarry counties; the latter was named after the Glengarry Fencibles to which many of the settlers had belonged. This in turn led to direct migration from Scotland to Quebec. Five hundred Catholic Highlanders arrived on board the *Macdonald* under the leadership of Father Alexander McDonnell during 1785.[237] As far as can be ascertained, the majority of the former Scottish soldiers who settled in Quebec after 1783 were either Highlanders or of Highland origin. These included John McDonnell, a graduate of the Scots College in Rome and a former Jacobite, who arrived in New York during 1775 aboard the *Pearl,* thereafter serving in the Eighty-fourth Regiment,[238] and the Reverend John Bethune, a graduate of King's College, Aberdeen, who immigrated to North Carolina and served as a military chaplain during the war.[239]

The cities of Montreal and Quebec provided economic opportunities to many Scots, such as Robert Cruikshank, a silversmith from Aberdeen, and James McGill from Glasgow, a leading fur trader.[240] Quebec, as the center of government, contained a number of Scots high in colonial service, including the governor James Murray, the lieutenant governor Henry Hope, and the collector of customs Thomas Ainslie.[241] The most important sector of the commerce of Quebec was without doubt the fur trade, and here too the Scots became prominent. A number of them had previously been involved with the trade in upper New York or in Rupert's Land; George McBeath and David Ramsay were two such.[242] Other Scottish merchants in contemporary Quebec were Adam Lymburner,[243] a Glasgow graduate, in 1766; Hugh Finlay,[244] son of a Glasgow tanner, in 1759; John Purss,[245] son of an Elgin merchant, from 1762; and John Young,[246] who arrived there in 1762.

During and after the American Revolution a number of Loyalist Scots such as James Dunlop,[247] formerly a merchant in Virginia, and Duncan Fisher,[248] lately a shoemaker on the Argyle Patent, New York, settled in Montreal. The expansion of the Scottish community in Quebec led to an influx of professionally trained people from Scotland: clergymen such as George Henry in 1762 and Alexander Spark, a graduate of King's College, Aberdeen, in 1780; and physicians Daniel Robertson, a former Black Watch surgeon, in 1763 and George Longmuir, a graduate of King's College, Aberdeen, in 1781.[249]

There is little evidence of any large-scale organized migration from Scotland to Quebec in the years prior to the American Revolution. According to the Register of Emigrants the only "group" to go from Scotland to Quebec between 1773 and 1775 comprised eight Ayrshire carpenters who sailed from Port Glasgow on the *Friendship* in 1775 to work as shipbuilders.[250] At the same time only twenty-four emigrants in all were recorded as leaving from English ports for Quebec, one-third being Scottish. It seems highly likely that the majority of Scots who settled in Quebec before 1785 arrived as soldiers or Loyalists from the American colonies. As far as can be established from the limited evidence available, it seems that numerically these early Scots in Quebec were more numerous than the other British incomers and that among the Scots the Highlanders were particularly numerous, initially comprising discharged military personnel and later pure immigrants.

ATLANTIC CANADA • Under the Peace of Paris the former French territories in maritime New France of St. John's Island, Cape Breton Island, and the disputed lands adjacent to the existing British colony of Nova Scotia were incorporated into Nova Scotia. This enlarged Nova Scotia differed from Quebec in that in the former the population was mainly English speaking whereas in the latter the population was overwhelmingly French speaking. The forcible and involuntary exodus of many of the French colonists from Nova Scotia, especially from Isle St.-Jean (later Prince Edward Island), caused a population vacuum that resulted in immigration, particularly from New England. The economy of the colony was dependent on fishing, farming, forestry, fur trading, and the Halifax naval base. By the mid-1770s the population was less than ten thousand, spread around the coast in small settlements. The only town was Halifax, containing less than fifteen hundred inhabitants. The subsequent massive influx of Loyalists and discharged soldiers after the American Revolution trebled the population of Nova Scotia. In due course Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick were formed into distinct colonies. To the north of Nova Scotia lay Newfoundland, which supported a small population heavily reliant on the fishing industry. Yet further north (strictly speaking, outside the Atlantic region) lay Rupert's Land and the Hudson Bay Company settlements.

Although a permanent British presence in Nova Scotia dates from the British military occupation of the Halifax area during 1749, civilian settlement really dates from the 1760s. During that period the British government encouraged settlement, especially by former military personnel. Men such as Colonel Archibald Montgomery,[251] late of the Seventy-seventh (Montgomery's Highlanders) Regiment, received a twenty-thousand-acre land grant in July 1764, and Norman McLeod received a land grant in 1770.[252] By 1770 a trickle of Scots had begun to arrive in Nova Scotia, some directly from Scotland, such as Reverend Daniel Cock,[253] a Glasgow graduate, minister of Truro, Nova Scotia, until 1798. Others came via the American colonies, such as those who were recruited in Philadelphia for settlement at Pictou in 1765; included was James Davidson, a schoolmaster from Edinburg.[254]

Pictou, the site of the unsuccessful settlement project of the Philadelphia Company in the 1760s, became one of the major destinations for Highland immigrants to Nova Scotia in the 1770s and 1780s. In 1772 the Reverend John Witherspoon (previously involved in the Vermont settlements), the president of Princeton University, became actively involved in the Philadelphia Company, which had failed to recruit sufficient settlers for its land grant at Pictou. Witherspoon was aided in this venture by John Pagan, the Glasgow merchant, who had business interests throughout the northern colonies, including an interest in the Philadelphia Company. In September 1772 John Pagan placed advertisements for settlers in Scottish newspapers such as the *Glasgow Journal:* "Lands to be settled in North America. To all farmers and others in Scotland who are inclined to settle on easy terms in the Province of Nova Scotia in North America."[255] John Pagan clearly preferred or anticipated settlers from the northern or western Highlands, and he appointed agents in these areas to accept applications. In June 1773, on behalf of Dr. John Witherspoon and himself, John Pagan entered a contract with John Ross, merchant at Loch Broom, to act as leader of the immigration to Pictou.[256] Later that month Pagan's vessel the *Hector* sailed from Greenock with a handful of Lowlanders bound for Loch Broom, Wester Ross, to embark the main body of immigrants recruited in the northern Highlands. This contingent of 240 Highlanders—McKays, Chisholms, Frasers, McDonalds, McLeods, Rosses, and others—represented the first organized group of immigrants from Scotland to settle in Nova Scotia. Together with the other Scottish Highlanders on neighboring Prince Edward Island, they pioneered Highland settlement in the Canadian Maritimes and were the vanguard of substantial immigration in following generations.

At the end of the American Revolution the British government again settled thousands of former soldiers in British North America, including some at Pictou. In 1785 over sixty former soldiers of the Eighty-fourth (Royal Highland Emigrants) Regiment, mainly from Inverness-shire, such as Alexander, Robert, and William Dunbar, received land grants at Pictou ranging from one hundred to five hundred acres along the East River.[257] Another group from the same regiment was settled at Douglas, Hants County, Nova Scotia. Individual Scots from regiments, such as

John Robson, a former corporal of the Eighty-second Regiment, were also settled at Pictou from 1783 onward.[258] Thousands of Loyalists from all over the American colonies settled in Nova Scotia after 1783, again including a number of Scots. Alexander McNaughton[259] moved from Wolfsborough, New Hampshire, to Halifax; William Harvey,[260] a ship master in New York, settled in Shelbourne during 1783; William McMaster, a merchant in Boston, took refuge in Shelbourne;[261] James Fraser,[262] a clergyman in Orange County, North Carolina, arrived in Annapolis during 1785; George Gilmore,[263] a clergyman in Georgia, moved to Halifax in 1785; and Robert Ross,[264] a merchant and planter in Mississippi, settled in Shelbourne.

Antigonish County, on the north coast of Nova Scotia, was also largely settled at that time by discharged soldiers, especially men from the Eighty-second (Fraser's Highlanders) Regiment. The majority were Roman Catholics, including a number of former fishermen from Barra, such as Donald, John, Matthew, and Murdoch McNeil.[265] The population of northern Nova Scotia was almost exclusively of Highland origin, whereas elsewhere Highlanders and Lowlanders were more equal in number. Scottish clergymen soon arrived to serve the Presbyterian communities. Thomas Russell,[266] a Glasgow graduate, was a minister in Halifax from 1783; and Hugh Graham,[267] an Edinburgh graduate, was a minister in Cornwallis from 1785. At the same time, schoolmasters, such as James Fullerton[268] from Montrose, who taught in Halifax around 1785, arrived.

The greatest stimulus to the settlement of Nova Scotia was the American Revolution, which brought tens of thousands of Loyalists and discharged soldiers in its wake. A substantial proportion of the early Scottish settlers of Nova Scotia arrived as a result of the revolution. Conditions in Scotland were also encouraging migration, as the passengers of the *Hector* illustrate; the firm foothold established by these early colonists encouraged substantial successive immigration to Nova Scotia from Scotland.

Before the American Revolution there were only about two thousand people, mainly Acadians and Indians, in what is now the Province of New Brunswick. One of the handful of Scots there was William Davidson from Inverness, a timber merchant at Wilson's Point about 1765.[269] In the aftermath of the American War of Independence, over fifteen thousand Loyalists, mainly soldiers and their families plus a number of civilians, were evacuated from New York by sea. The soldiers, partly British regulars and partly Provincial volunteers, were discharged and largely settled along the St. John River. Among the soldiers who were demobilized and settled north of Fredericton were a detachment of the Forty-second (Black Watch) Regiment and men from the Seventy-fourth (Argyll Highlanders) Regiment, including Myles McMillan, Donald Malloch, and Donald McLean.[270] Loyalist corps, especially those from the south, contained Scots; the North Carolina Volunteers had thirty-eight officers, of whom twenty-eight had been born in Scotland.[271] A detachment of this unit settled on the St. John River, New Brunswick. Aeneas Shaw,[272] who settled on the Nashwauk River in 1783, had immigrated to Staten Island, New York, in 1770 before joining the Queen's Rangers after 1776. Among the Loyalist civilians who arrived in New Brunswick as refugees in 1783 were a number of Scots merchants, including Patrick McMaster from Galloway,[273] who had settled in New Hampshire during 1767; Colin Campbell,[274] once a factor in Virginia, who settled in Penobscot; and Robert Pagan,[275] a member of a leading Glasgow mercantile family, who moved from Maine to become a leading shipbuilder and timber merchant in St. Andrews, New Brunswick. In August 1784 New Brunswick was declared to be a distinct colony and was partitioned from Nova Scotia.

In 1758 the French colony of Ile St.-Jean, lying in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, was captured by British forces led by Lord Rollo; and in 1763 it was officially transferred by France into the jurisdiction of Great Britain and incorporated within the colony of Nova Scotia. By 1765 the British government, having expelled the French inhabitants, began to divide the island into sixty-seven lots or townships, each of twenty thousand acres. These lots were then allocated, by way of a lottery drawn in London on 23 July 1769, to a number of former British officers, officials, merchants, and landed families, each grantee being required to settle one hundred Protestants within ten years. Among those receiving land on St.

John's Island, later renamed Prince Edward Island, were a number of Scots, whose numbers increased through purchases of land in later years. John Dickson the[276] younger of Kilbucho; Sir James Montgomery, the lord advocate;[277] John Murray of Philiphaugh; Hutchison Mure and Robert Cathcart,[278] merchants; Captain John MacDonald of Glenaladale;[279] James and William Hunter, merchants; Arnold Nisbet; Lieutenant Colonel Robert Stewart; Walter and John Paterson; Lauchlan and Henry McLeane; and John Gordon all settled.[280]

By 1770 Sir James Montgomery had control of several lots on Prince Edward Island, particularly within Queen's County. In Scotland he was a noted agricultural improver as well as being the lord advocate, one of the foremost government officials. His business activities included the production of flax, for which there was an insatiable demand from linen manufacturers. That demand had already led to flax imports into Scotland from the northern colonies in America. In October 1769 Montgomery entered a contract with David Lawson, a farmer from Muthill in the flax-growing county of Perth, to go to St. John's Island with a number of servants with the object of developing farms there. Lawson was contracted for seven years and was to receive half the net profits of the venture. The farm servants were to be transported at the expense of Montgomery to work as indentured servants for four years, thereafter to be offered farms at competitive rents. In April 1770 David Lawson, his family, almost fifty farm servants mainly recruited in Perthshire, and the Reverend William Drummond set sail for St. John's Island on board the *Falmouth*.[281] This group, known as the Stanhope settlers, soon established farms in the vicinity of Covehead Bay on the north coast of the island, which continued to expand and develop during the period. Montgomery's enterprise did not provide the anticipated return on his investment, but it did make a marked contribution to the settlement of the island. He also had lands in the neighborhood of Montague on the east coast of the island, where a group of Scots temporarily settled in 1775. In the summer of 1775 the *Lovely Nelly of Whitehaven* sailed from Scotland for St. John's Island with passengers who embarked at various ports in Dumfries and Galloway.[282] The

*Lovely Nelly* carried 150 immigrants—mainly farmers, weavers, and skilled tradesmen—from the rural parishes of southwestern Scotland, plus two men from Whitehaven and a family from the Isle of Man, under the leadership of Wellwood Waugh. Unlike the passengers on the *Falmouth* this group of immigrants was not comprised of indentured servants but rather of fare-paying passengers, a fact that enabled the majority of them to abandon the site of their original settlement, after a disastrous winter on St. John's Island, in favor of Pictou, Nova Scotia.[283]

The other main group of Scots to settle on the island before 1785 was from the Highlands and represented the vanguard of a movement that continued for many generations. This group of immigrants differed from those previously mentioned in that they were not Protestant settlers, as required under the terms of the land grant, but Roman Catholics. For nearly a generation after Culloden, the traditional society of the Highlands had come under intensive pressure from the south, and by the 1760s many people were considering emigration the only solution. The government, in attempting to assimilate the Highlanders into British society, was attempting to weaken, if not destroy, certain traditional pillars of Highland society: language, the clan system, and religious affiliation, both Roman Catholic and Episcopalian. In 1769, it was the final straw for many Catholics when Colin Macdonald of Boisdale decided to "persuade" his Catholic tenants in South Uist to adopt Presbyterianism. John MacDonald of Glenaladale, with the covert assistance of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in Scotland, organized the emigration of Catholic Highlanders to St. John's Island. This episode has been particularly well covered by Professor J. M. Bumstead in his book *The People's Clearance, 1770–1815*.[284] In the summer of 1772 the *Alexander* sailed from Scotland with more than two hundred Catholic Highlanders, partly from Uist but mainly from the Clanranald lands of Arisaig and Moidart, to settle in Queen's County, St. John's Island, on land purchased from Sir James Montgomery, at a site later known as Scotchfort. Some of these Highlanders went as indentured servants; in 1771 Donald Henderson, Neil Henderson, and Lachlan Mackinnon from Eigg contracted to work on St. John's Island for four years, after which period they were to obtain two hundred acres each for terms of 2096 years (sic).[285] Lieutenant Colonel Robert Stewart is believed to have brought sixty families from Argyllshire to Richmond Bay around the same time.[286] Thomas Desbrisay, the lieutenant governor, actively promoted immigration to his own lands on the island during the early 1770s. Although his schemes failed to attract more than a handful of immigrants from Great Britain and Ireland, his propaganda may have influenced immigration indirectly during 1772 when he issued handbills in Scotland advertising a vessel sailing from Belfast. Thus there were Scots, both Highlanders and Lowlanders, Catholics and Protestants, settled in distinct communities on St. John's Island before the outbreak of the American Revolution.

Apart from groups, a few Scots arrived as individuals, sometimes in government service; examples are James Douglas, the customs controller; Peter Stewart, the chief justice; and Charles Stewart, a lawyer.[287] Scottish clergymen, both Presbyterian and Roman Catholic, came to serve their respective communities; two such were Father Hugh MacDonald and the Reverend James MacGregor.[288] Between 1770 and 1775 seven vessels brought a total of 850 Scots directly to the island. In 1770 the *Falmouth* and the *Annabella* brought people from Argyll and Perth, in 1771 an unknown ship came from the Western Isles, in 1772 the *Alexander* brought two hundred Highlanders, in 1774 the *Lovely Nelly* came from Dumfries, and in 1775 the *Elizabeth* arrived from Argyll and the *John and Elizabeth* from Morayshire. After the American Revolution several hundred Loyalists and discharged soldiers settled on the island; among them were a number of Scots, including Alexander Fletcher,[289] a former officer of the Eighty-fourth (Royal Highland Emigrants) Regiment, and Alexander MacDonald,[290] formerly an officer of the Glengarry Fencibles. Other Scots who had settled on the island before being recruited by the army (especially the Eighty-fourth Regiment) went elsewhere in Canada after the revolution. An example is John Hay, an Aberdonian, who settled in Lancaster, Upper Canada, during 1786.[291]

Newfoundland attracted very few Scottish immigrants during this period. The majority of Scots found there later seem to have been second- or even third-generation Scots who arrived there by way of Cape Breton Island.[292] Land grants were made to a small number of Scots during the period 1763 to 1785. John Agnew and George Stewart, both from Wigtownshire, were allocated land there in 1774.[293] Trade between Scotland and the various colonies usually led to some degree of settlement. Scotland had a limited degree of trade with Newfoundland; for example, Alexander Bain and Company,[294] merchants in Greenock, were trading with Newfoundland between 1772 and 1783, but there is no evidence that this led to immigration there from Scotland. One of the few Scottish settlers positively identified was Allan McDonald[295] at Fort William around 1767, and one of the earliest Scots clergymen to work in Newfoundland was James Balfour, a graduate of Marischal College, Aberdeen, who was sent by the bishop of London as an Anglican missionary to Trinity Bay in 1764.[296] Opportunities for settlement elsewhere in Canada were clearly greater than those in Newfoundland. The colony seems to have attracted only a handful of Scots, a position reflected further north in Rupert's Land. Rupert's Land was under the direct control of the Hudson Bay Company, which recruited men from throughout the British Isles to work at its trading posts. During the eighteenth century it became increasingly reliant on Scots, especially Orcadians, to man its trading posts or factories in Rupert's Land. Immigration was thus small scale and comprised solely of single men, some of whom settled there permanently while others returned home after completing their periods of service. Among the Scots there then were William Flett,[297] Andrew Harvey, William Ross, a Sandwick tailor, and Robert Longmuir from Edinburgh.[298] The Hudson Bay Company, which for nearly a century had been in competition with French fur trappers and traders based in Quebec, now were faced with British trappers and traders from Quebec, including many Scots, with whom they came increasingly into conflict.

Thus Canada became a major destination for Scottish emigrants. It is clear that in the years following the Conquest of Canada the majority of the British settlers were discharged soldiers, especially from the Highland regiments, who had played a major role in the conflict, and civilian emigrants from Scotland still favored the American colonies, particularly North Carolina. The American Revolution, however, soon brought about a marked change in emphasis. Initially the new settlers in Canada were Loyalists and former soldiers, but these were soon joined by emigrants direct from Scotland. After the revolution the British government discouraged emigration to the United States and attempted to direct would-be emigrants to Canada. The Highland element of the Scots emigrants became prominent among both military and civilian settlers. The period was also marked by the rise of emigration of Roman Catholics from the Highlands to Canada, especially to Quebec where the religious environment was more favorable than elsewhere in British North America. Although religious factors were important in influencing the decision to emigrate, the single overriding factor was economic. These discharged soldiers, often Highlanders from Inverness-shire, would have been attracted by the incentive of land grants in Canada, but their decision to settle was also influenced by their knowledge and experience of conditions existing in contemporary Scotland. In the Highlands, conditions that had generated emigration or enlistment in the army grew steadily worse during the early 1780s, clinching the argument in favor of settlement in Canada. A report made to Parliament in May 1783 tells of the famine and distress in Scotland at that time as the result of a late harvest coupled with an early winter. Alexander Mackenzie, merchant in Inverness, wrote in March 1783, "Meal, or any other kind of victuals, cannot be had for love or money, before the summer is over people will die in the fields from want." James McPherson, factor for Campbell of Cawdor, wrote from Ardesier, "The spirit of emigration which is very high may become still more general."[299]

# EPILOGUE

What then was the Scottish contribution to the settlement and development of early America? It is obvious, from the evidence of the historical data on which the previous chapters were based, that the Scots played a hitherto undervalued role in the economy and society of prerevolutionary America from the earliest times. Although Scots immigrants were less numerous than those from England or Ireland, they clearly made a contribution out of proportion to their number in commerce, civil service, education, medicine, and the church. The emphasis of Scottish settlement varied during the period under consideration, but overall Highlanders tended to settle on the frontiers of Georgia, North Carolina, New York, and Canada, whereas Lowlanders—especially merchants, craftsmen, and professional workers—were attracted to the port towns of the eastern seaboard and the West Indies. The volume of Scottish emigration to North America changed dramatically from a trickle in the seventeenth century to a torrent in the decade before the American Revolution. The factors that stimulated emigration to colonial America from Scotland were varied and included banishment, religious persecution, economic opportunity, and military settlement.

After the American Revolution the emphasis of Scottish emigration was on Canada, to a large extent because of British government intervention. The Napoleonic Wars absorbed the labor surplus that otherwise might have emigrated, while the War of 1812 temporarily discouraged British settlement in the United States. However, in the aftermath of Waterloo and a subsequent trade depression substantial numbers of Scots, mainly ex-soldiers and weavers, settled in Canada. During the second half of the nineteenth century the United States became the principal destination for Scottish emigrants: between 1852 and 1910, 478,224 Scots arrived there.

Today approximately twenty million people in North America are believed to be of Scottish origin. In Canada alone the Scots form the third largest ethnic group.

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# NOTES

## *Abbreviations*

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| ABA | Aberdeen Burgh Archives |
| AC | Admiralty Court Records, Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh |
| AO | Audit Office, Public Record Office, London |
| B | Burgh Records, Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh |
| CC | Commissary Court Records, Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh |
| CH | Church Records, Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh |
| CLRO | Corporation of London Record Office |
| CO | Colonial Office, Public Record Office, London |
| CS | Court of Session Records, Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh |
| *DCB* | *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* |
| E | Exchequer Records, Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh |
| GD | Gifts and Deposits, Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh |
| HMSO | Her Majesty's Stationery Office |
| JC | Justiciary Court Records, Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh |
| NLS | National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh |
| NRAS | National Register of Archives, Scotland,<br>Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh |
| PCC | Prerogative Court of Canterbury, Public Record Office, London |
| PRO | Public Record Office, London |
| RD | Register of Deeds, Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh |
| RH | Register House Records, Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh |
| RS | Register of Sasines, Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh |
| SC | Sheriff Court Records, Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh |
| SH | Services of Heirs, Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh |
| SP | State Papers, PRO |
| SRA | Strathclyde Regional Archives, Glasgow |
| SRO | Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh |

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| T | Treasury, PRO |
| TRA | Tayside Regional Archives, Dundee |

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## CHAPTER FOUR

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